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Zhivkov Receives Visiting Lebanese Mufti
AU1303185489 Sofia BTA in English 1810 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria received today the grand mufti of the Lebanon, Sheykh Hasan Khalid who is paying an official visit to this country at the invitation of the Committee for Affairs of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and the Religious Denominations and of the Chief Mufti's Office of Muslims in Bulgaria.

During the talks Mr Todor Zhivkov acquainted the guest with some aspects of the processes of restructuring underway in this country in the political, economic, social and intellectual sphere. He dwelled on the constitutional guarantees and on the political and state leadership, ensuring freedom of conscience and self-management of all religions in our country.

The president of the State Council confirmed Bulgaria's principled position to settle regional conflicts by peaceful means, for the establishment of an all-embracing, just and lasting peace in the Middle East and expressed the support and solidarity of this country with the struggle of the Lebanese people for safeguarding of the unity, independence, territorial entity and sovereignty of the Lebanon.

On his part the grand mufti of the Lebanon, Sheykh Hasan Khalid highly commended Bulgaria's position in the settlement of the Middle East problem and the support it renders to the people of Lebanon. The Lebanese guest thanked for the hearty welcome and the opportunies offered to get acquainted with the successes and achievements of the Bulgarian people, including those of the Bulgarian Muslims and esteemed them highly and expressed his people's wish, including that of Muslims in Lebanon for a further development of relations between the two countries and peoples to the interest of peace and common welfare.

Economic Cooperation With Algeria Discussed
AU1303100189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Mar 89 p 6

[BTA report: "Promising Economic Cooperation"]

[Text] Satisfaction with the developments in Bulgarian-Algerian economic relations until now and an intent to strengthen them in the spirit of the recommendations issued by the two countries' leaders, Todor Zhivkov and Chadli Bendjedid, is the basic conclusion of the 17th session of the Bulgarian-Algerian Committee on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation that ended on 10 March in Sofia. The two delegations were led by Khristo Khristov, minister at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and Ahmed Benfreha, minister of hydraulics, forests, and fishing.

The possibilities of intensifying relations in many branches of national economy, as well as enriching the two countries' trade exchange, were discussed at the session.

Agricultural cooperation, predominantly in the areas of grain and seed production—ensuring a sufficient quantity of high-quality grain and seeds—as well as in the areas of cattle raising, tobacco producing, and fruit growing, will obtain a priority place in the two countries' economic relations.

Further development of engineering activity has also been envisaged. The projects which will be implemented by Bulgarian specialists during the current and upcoming years have been determined. They include mining complexes, reconstruction and modernization of enterprises of the chemical and pharmaceutical industries, and creating mixed companies for producing and marketing the products of these industries. Relations in the food and textile industries, heavy machine building, electronics, and electrical engineering will significantly expand. Agreements have been reached in the area of forestry and water economy to jointly implement projects in the spheres of water supply and irrigation and to construct dams and irrigation systems.

Scientific-technical cooperation is a significant element in bilateral contacts. Its prospects were reflected in the agreement that was signed on 10 March which determines the conditions for the work of Bulgarian specialists in Algeria.

A protocol on the session's work was signed.

The two countries' ambassadors, Kiryak Tsonev and Zine Labdine Hachichi, attended the ceremony.

Writers Union Elects Matev as New Chairman
AU1103140889 Sofia BTA in English 1324 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—The poet Mr Pavel Matev was elected president of the Union of Bulgarian Writers at the first session of the union's new Governing Board late past midnight last night.

The delegates to the Sixth Congress of the union chose 41 people to the Governing Board out of 90 candidates. The previous Governing Board consisted of 66 members.

Mr Pavel Matev succeeds in this post another poet, Mr Lyubomir Levchev, who was elected in 1980. Under the draft of the new union rules, which were not approved by the congress but will be amended and redrafted before being submitted for passage later this year by the union's general annual meeting, the president would be limited to a single term of office.

Mr Pavel Matev was born in 1924. He joined the BCP in 1945. He has graduated in Slavonic studies from the Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia and has worked as editor of literary publications and in the film industry. He was editor-in-chief of the SEPTEMVRI magazine; secretary of the Writers Union, 1958-1962; chairman of the Committee for Culture, 1966-1975; head of the Arts and Culture Department of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, 1975-1977; president of the Committee for Bulgarians Resident Abroad, since 1977. His first book of poems was published in 1951 and has been followed by more than twenty others, including "The Seagulls Rest on the Waves" (1965) and "Piled-Up Silences" (1973). He is a laureate of the 1966 Dimitrov Prize for Literature.

Translators Congress Ends; Vulchev New Chairman

AU1103143589 Sofia BTA in English 1329 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—Late last night, the Bulgarian Translators' Union ended its 4th Congress. It resolved to transform the young translators' section into a young translators' club open to everybody active in translation. The need was pointed out of setting up a union-run publishing house for translated literature and of a national translation training school. The speakers raised the urgent need for the union to address the question of protecting the translators' copyright.

The congress adopted new rules under which the Bulgarian Translators Union becomes a creative and professional organisation.

At its first session, the new 45-member Governing Board elected Mr Nayden Vulchev, 62, a poet, translator and managing editor of the SUVREMENNIK literary journal, president of the Translators Union.

Sixth Congress of Actors Union Opens 13 Mar

AU1303212089 Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—The Sixth Congress of the Union of Actors in Bulgaria was opened. This union includes 7,300 playwrights, actors, directors, scriptwriters, actors of the drama and puppet theaters, circus actors and critics.

The report of the union chairwoman Vancha Doycheva considers problems related to the theatric life and to the union of the theater makers. The most significant among them refer to: The image of the individual theaters, the efficient presentation of the companies and their independence, the relation between the stage and the audience. The Bulgarian theater could not develop the different trends in the stage culture over a long period and lagged behind in its contacts with the world theater culture, the report said. These problems were considered in detail in the statements. Thus, for instance the theoretican Prof Chavdar Dobrev, spoke of the canocizing and simplification of the Stanislavskiy system and of the tutorship over the repertoire, practiced until recently.

The report considered also problems of the higher institute of theatric art. The system of agreements with members of the theatrical companies which had been introduced was considered to be more advanced. The need was indicated of sociological surveys on the audience. A proposal was raised for setting up of a national museum of the theater, which would preserve documents related to the Bulgarian theater and the union, which has a 70-year-old history.

The congress considers the new version of the union statute. The delegates' proposals are aimed at the greater independence and further influence of the sections (of directors, actors, puppeteers) in the solution of the creative and professional tasks. The demands are raised for the union to interfere much more actively than at present in the formation of the state cultural policy and to guarantee the varieties of the plays and the freedom of creative initiatives of its members. Representatives of the dramatic and puppet theaters declared themselves against the administrative approach in the formation of theaters in the country which deprives the companies of their individuality. The issue was raised for clarifying the statute of the theater artistic manager.

Many of the delegates spoke of the principles of the formation of the theater repertoire, which is based on the Bulgarian drama. They mentioned the insufficiency of plays, which would enable the theater to interfere actively in the public life. "The drama of the catchword" is not sufficient today, director Nikolay Lyutskanov said.

The delegates spoke of the insufficient relation of the Bulgarian stage art with the processes of the modern world theater. The international festivals organized by the union of the Bulgarian actors: "Theater in a Suitcase", for short plays and "The Golden Dolphin", for puppet art are considered to be useful events.

The congress continues tomorrow.

Actors Union Congress Ends

AU1503081189 Sofia BTA in English 2034 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 14 (BTA)—The Union of Bulgarian Artists ended their Sixth Congress. The resolution passed at the congress points out that the professional and creative organization will stand up for the rights of its members and define their responsibilities.

This congress will be remembered both for its decisions and for the questions posed to the leadership of the union and the committee of culture. The new leadership will have to take into account the claims made to their predecessors in connection with the unclear positions of the union on problems which are important for art and its public prestige.

Many of the speakers asked for guarantees that the union will be in condition to protect the independence of the theatres and oppose any administrative intervention in the repertory and personnel policy of the theatrical groups.

The necessity of a new statute which will enable the union to take the leading role in the restructuring of the theatres was well grounded. Sixty eminent directors, scenographers, playwrights, critics and actors addressed the congress. They maintained the opinion that it is too early to adopt a new statute. It should be done when the concept of the changes in the organization of theatrical life is ready. The draft is not up the principle of self-management of the theatres, they said. [sentence as received] Finally, the congress adopted a provisional statute which is more democratic than the previous one. It was decided that it will be operative until the national conference of theatrical workers.

A lot of concrete proposals were made at the congress. The new ideas are aimed at asserting creative diversity in theatrical activity and enriching it by the experience of the world cultural process. This object of the work of the union is formulated in the new version of the statute.

One of the statements nutshells the summary of the two-day discussions: "The theatre does not exist outside society, therefore it is influenced by the society and depends on the presence or the shortage of democracy, openness and pluralism".

The new leadership of the Union of Bulgarian Artists will become known tomorrow.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 0600 GMT on 15 March, in reporting the end of the above congress, adds the following: "At its first meeting, the union's newly elected Administrative Council, consisting of 175 persons, reelected Vancha Doycheva as chairman of the union"]

Film Workers Union Congress Opens in Sofia

AU1403124789 Sofia BTA in English 1154 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Sofia, March 14 (BTA)—The Fourth (extraordinary) Congress of the Union of Bulgarian Film-Makers was opened here today. It is the last of the congresses of the creative unions which have been convened in order to outline the directions of the restructuring in the intellectual sphere in accordance with the formulations of the Bulgarian Communist Party for radical restructuring of socialism, for innovation of Bulgarian society.

"We will start the discussion not just because of our creative or purely professional problems, but because we are strongly influenced by the events which have recently given way to processes for searching of new approach and new resolutions in all spheres of life, of the resolute breaking up with the routine thinking," stresses in his report film director Georgi Stoyanov, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Film-Makers. [passage omitted]

The topical problem at present is the alarming lack of communicativity of certain feature films, of the low artistic level of certain television serials, as well as the unclear relations between the cinema and the video. The problem of the quality of film scripts is also rather important for Bulgarian feature cinema today. One can speak about certain cooling of the relations between literature and cinema, about "literary euphoria" of almost all young directors, about unjustified ambitions for "total author's cinema". [passage omitted]

The congress will complete its work tomorrow.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1000 GMT on 14 March, in reporting the opening of the congress of the Bulgarian Film Workers Union, adds that "Comrades Ivan Panev, Petko Danchev, and Emil Khristov are taking part in the work of the congress"]

Composers Union Congress Opens 13 Mar

AU1303181789 Sofia BTA in English 1647 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] March 13 (BTA)—The Fourth Extraordinary Congress of the Union of the Bulgarian Composers was opened this afternoon. As Mr Aleksander Raychev, the union chairman said in his speech the congress is held a year ahead of schedule due to the need of decisive restructuring in the union work, in the all-round creative activity of the Bulgarian composers and musicians in concert with the processes of restructuring underway in the whole sphere of culture. It is indicated that the major task of the congress is to outline the trends of development of the union and to place the accent on the problems: creative and organizational, which remain to be solved.

The union chairman dwelled on one of the most complicated problems: The dissemination of modern Bulgarian music. One of the main tasks of restructuring of the creative fund of the union of the Bulgarian composers would be the use of more efficient mechanisms and approaches in the dissemination of the musical values. The need is stressed of the convening of a general session of all interested institutions for the building of a common and united concept on the issues of dissemination of the musical works abroad.

The new draft statute plans the turning of the union into a creative and professional organization. Through decentralization of the union bodies, the provision of broad democracy, openness and self-management there would be no monopoly or suppression of any kind of the work of composers and musicologists.

The congress would make an account of the work of the union in sections and trends for the period 1985-1989. The reports indicate that in the annual surveys "New Bulgarian Music" alone about 800 works of almost all actively working composers have been played. At the surveys "New Bulgarian Music Knowledge" which are an inseparable part of the survey "New Bulgarian Music", a production which is substantial in volume and problems was presented and considered with the participation of guests from the Soviet Union, the GDR and Vietnam. For two years now the creative fund has been issuing a bulletin in English and Russian for abroad with information on the Bulgarian musical work.

The union international activity is mainly carried out by signing of bilateral agreements on cooperation with the unions of the composers of different countries, envisaging exchange of musical information, scores, records and tapes, exchange of delegates for major musical events, organizing of concerts, etc. The union has a long-year cooperation with the unions of composers of the Soviet Union, the G.D.R., Hungary, Poland, Nicaragua. Agreements with the related unions of Belgium, Algeria and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea have been signed for the first time. There have been negotiating for signing of agreements with musical organizations and institutes of Spain, Holland, Norway, Canada, the FRG, France, Switzerland, Greece, etc.

There have been a number of international acknowledgements for the Bulgarian composers during the reported period. Simeon Pironkov was distinguished with the prize of the Vienna University "Gottfried von Herder". The only prize of the 13th International Composers' Competition for Modern Music "Queen Marie-Jose" was conferred on Russi Turmukov for his work "Folk Music for Seven Instruments". The First Symphony of Rumen Bayraktarov is among the distinguished works of the Kussevitzky foundation in the International Records Competition of the HIGH FIDELITY magazine (U.S.A.). Some 12 composers have received prestigious international awards and distinctions.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1400 GMT on 13 March carries an abbreviated version of the above report on the Opening of the Fourth Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Composers' Union, and adds: "The opening of the congress was attended by Comrades Grisha Filipov and Georgi Yordanov."]

'Hot Political Period' in Hungary Analyzed

AU1403121389 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 13 Mar 89 p 4

[Article by Veselin Markov, "BTA correspondent in Budapest": "Hot Political Period," "especially written for NARODNA MLADEZH"]

[Text] The first months of the year already showed that Hungary is on the eve of an especially hot political period. Even a brief chronology shows this.

In less than 3 months the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] convened three times. Each plenum discussed vitally important issues, toward which nobody here is indifferent. They included the MSZMP short-range action program, a concept for the new constitution, and an assessment of the 1956 events. The trade unions, the Patriotic People's Front, and the numerous newly emerged alternative movements and organizations are daily taking a stand on the sharply intensified political processes, and on the progress of Hungary's political and economic reform.

The discussions follow each other and along with concepts such as "reform," "turning point," and "renewal," they also contain an overt and critical analysis of the Hungarian people's deteriorated standard of living, (during this year the prices of the basic consumer goods will increase by an average of 15 percent), the imperfect economic structure, and the necessity of fundamentally restructuring the political system.

The MSZMP is categorical in its assessment: The country is at an historical turning point in its development. However, even against the background of the present internal situation, which is full of contradictions, there still are favorable internal and international conditions of democratic renewal.

Some 8 months ago, at the MSZMP National Conference, the beginning of a new political process was marked. Its basic goal was to create a mechanism and system of political pluralism in the country. The conference decided to implement this within the framework of the one-party system. However, the processes and transformations that took place afterward showed that favorable conditions of changing this understanding have been created, because day after day the spectrum of the newly established public and political organizations in Hungary became more versatile. The MSZMP Central Committee made a profound and real analysis of the situation in the country and of the objective circumstances and historical experience and development, and declared at its 10 February plenum: "The Central Committee is convinced that the political pluralism, in accordance with the specific conditions in the country, can be implemented within the framework of a multiparty system."

According to the Central Committee's assessment, Hungarian society now is not ready for the quick and spontaneous emergence of the political structure based on a multiparty system. "The destabilization, uncontrolled processes, and the emergence of anarchy present a serious threat to the society. Both the artificial acceleration of these processes and their forced delay can be equally harmful. Therefore, it is necessary to implement a gradual transition, take into consideration the predictability of these processes, and consistently channel them into a thoroughly thought out framework."

The MSZMP openly declared that it wants to play a decisive role in this transition toward the multiparty system in Hungarian society. Its political power, social basis, and historical experience are the basis of this demand. In a television interview Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the party, expressed his firm conviction that the MSZMP will preserve its leading role under conditions of competition with other parties.

At present, political consultations are under way between the MSZMP and the various alternative and other organizations and movements. They are searching for bases of cooperation and the so much needed national consensus that will ensure the calm and successful future political and economic development of the country. The multiparty system, the election system, the new constitution, and the new economic and social policy are the main themes of these consultations.

Within the framework of these consultations a meeting took place between representatives of the MSZMP led by Gyorgy Fejti, MSZMP Central Committee secretary, and the leadership of the All-National Council of the Hungarian Youth Organizations that was established 4 months ago.

This youth organization resembles the Patriotic People's Front. It has no individual membership, local organs, or an apparatus. Some 27 youth organizations are full-fledged members of this unique forum of coordinating the youth interests, while 17 additional organizations have observer status.

The organization's statute points out that its goal is to form a consensus among the Hungarian youth organizations and facilitate the processes of renewal within the youth movement. The All-National Council will establish relations with other sociopolitical and mass organizations in Hungary and abroad, will protect the interests of the youth, and will act as an independent consultative and coordination forum that will facilitate the dialogue between various Hungarian youth organizations and movements. Every youth organization that has more than 500 members can join the council.

Istvan Stumpf, chairman of the organization, stressed that its main importance is that it can cooperate in establishing the foundations of a constructive and lasting dialogue between the various representatives of the Hungarian youth movement by facilitating its renewal.

The Hungarian Communist Youth Union, whose representative is a cochairman of the council, is one of the initiators of the All-National Council.

Leaders' Appearances for 3-10 Mar Noted

AU1103154889

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newcasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the 3-10 March monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Dobri Dzhurov, Ivan Panev, and Grigor Stoichkov attended a festive tattoo in Sofia on 3 March to commemorate the 111th anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1702 GMT 3 Mar 89)

Milko Balev and Georgi Yordanov attended a National Day reception given by the Moroccan ambassador, Abdelhamid Bennani, in Sofia on 3 March. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Mar 89 p 2)

Todor Zhivkov, with Petur Mladenov in attendance, received Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias in Sofia on 4 March, (Sofia BTA in English 1330 GMT 4 Mar 89) and then hosted a luncheon for Papoulias, which was attended by Milko Balev and Petur Mladenov. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 4 Mar 89)

Todor Zhivkov, Petur Dyulgerov, Dobri Dzhurov, and Dimitur Stanishev attended a festive meeting in Sofia on 7 March to mark International Women's Day. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Mar 89)

Georgi Atanasov, Petur Dyulgerov, and Ivan Panev attended the proceedings of the Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Artists Union in Sofia on 8 and 9 March. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 8 Mar 89) and (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 9 Mar 89)

Milko Balev, Stoyan Ovcharov, and Yordan Yotov attended the Eighth Special Congress of the Bulgarian Journalists Union in Sofia on 7 and 8 March. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 7 Mar 89) and (Sofia BTA in English 0745 GMT 9 Mar 89)

Emil Khristov and Georgi Yordanov attended the opening of the Fourth Congress of the Bulgarian Translators Union in Sofia on 10 March. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 10 Mar 89)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, attended the opening in Sofia on 9 March of the Sixth Congress of the Bulgarian Writers Union. (Sofia BTA in English 1839 GMT 9 Mar 89)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received in Sofia on 7 March Ahmed Benfreha, minister of water economy of Algeria. (Sofia BTA in English 1834 GMT 7 Mar 89) In Sofia on 10 March Atanasov received Anatoliy Reut, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee. (Sofia BTA in English 1141 GMT 10 Mar 89)

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, presented awards in Sofia on 6 March to men and women from literature and the arts for their work on military and patriotic themes in 1988. (Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 7 Mar 89 pp 1, 3)

Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, departed from Sofia on 5 March to attend a conference of party central committee secretaries in Prague. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Mar 89) He returned to Sofia from Prague on 7 March. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Mar 89 p 6)

Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, had a meeting in Sofia on 6 March with a delegation of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, led by Nenad Bucin. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 6 Mar 89)

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, met Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias at Sofia Airport on 3 March, (Sofia BTA in English 1747 GMT 3 Mar 89) held talks with Papoulias in Sofia, (Sofia BTA in English 2002 GMT 3 Mar 89) and gave an official dinner in his honor. (Sofia BTA in English 2057 GMT 3 Mar 89) On 4 March Mladenov saw off Papoulias at Sofia Airport. (Sofia BTA in English 2108 GMT 4 Mar 89) On 5 March, Mladenov departed from Sofia to take part in the European talks in Vienna. (Sofia BTA in English 1654 GMT 5 Mar 89) On 8 March Mladenov returned to Sofia from Vienna. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 8 Mar 89)

Dimitur Stoyanov, Politburo member and secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, read a letter from Todor Zhivkov at the funeral of Stoyan Tonchev, a veteran member of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, in Sofia on 7 March. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Mar 89 p 6)

Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, attended a plenum of the leadership of the Bulgarian Composers Union, held in Sofia on 5 March to elect a new leadership. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 6 Mar 89)

Stoyan Ovcharov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of planning and economy, attended a Ghanaian National Day reception in Sofia on 6 March. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 6 Mar 89)

Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended the opening of the Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Architects Union in Sofia on 6 March. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Mar 89 pp 1, 4)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture, science, and education, met in Sofia on 9 March with Dr Primo Nebiolo, president of the International University Sports Federation. (Sofia BTA in English 1837 GMT 9 Mar 89)

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, departed from Sofia on 3 March with a BCP Central Committee delegation to take part in the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of India in Calcutta. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Mar 89)

CIA Implicated in Support for Charter 77

AU1303084989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Mar 89 p 2

[Marie Boudova article: "In Reply to a Reader's Question; Payments From Munich"]

[Text] [Question] In the article on Havel you wrote about the money which he and other "Chartists" receive from abroad. I was listening to a Radio Free Europe program in which Mrs Siklova said that this is not true, so what's the real truth?

[Answer] We wrote about one of the channels through which the "Charter" receives funds in the article entitled: Who Is Vaclav Havel? (RUDE PRAVO 23 February 1989), and similarly in other articles entitled: In Reply to Readers' Questions (RUDE PRAVO 25 January 1989). We also wrote about one of the "Charter" foundations which distributes money to individual "Chartists" according to the level of their "commitment." This is, as a matter of fact, proved by a document found at Vaclav Havel's house, which we wrote about in the article on 23 February. He was among those who distributed the funds.

A few words on the Janouch (a post-August emigre and signatory of the so-called Charter 77, today living in Sweden) "Charter" foundation. Also involved here are not only resources from compatriots, as claims J. Siklova, signatory of the "Charter" and former lecturer at the Philosophical Faculty, but also donations from various organizations, including political ones and organizations such as the CIA.

RUDE PRAVO and ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY have already written about another source of funds. Near Munich, in the FRG, lives Vilem Precan, a former Czechoslovak historian. For conspiratorial reasons he is also called the "renowned gentleman." He lives and works in a house which at the same time serves as a temporary storage area for various appliances, including personal computers and other equipment, which by various routes then make their way to the CSSR. V. Precan receives financial resources first and foremost from P. Tigrid (a post-February emigre and one of the former organizers of Radio Free Europe, who today lives in Paris and is an associate of the CIA) who again receives them directly from the CIA and other organizations, from various "research" institutes, and so on.

Of course, there is no shortage of money for the carrying out of various illegal acts on CSSR territory.

How do these funds and necessary electronic equipment make their way to us from the West? Precan, Tigrid, and others have learned a lot over the years, they have proven channels. Of course, money is mainly brought in by certain "tourists." "Large consignments" also reach us through diplomatic channels. Incidentally, this method is well-known to Jirina Siklova herself, who gave the details to the appropriate organs and handed over the necessary written documents, the deposit book in her name, and other papers.

She herself gave an account of how the whole "operation" was carried out, just as it is in a bad detective novel. A diplomat came to the CSSR, he informed J. Siklova by telephone where he had parked his car.... Most of the time she herself took the package from the "prepared" car. According to instructions from Precan, Janouch, and others, she distributed the money. In precisely this way she received the sum of DM7,000 from Wolfgang Scheur, a former FRG diplomat, for the illegal undertaking "Czechoslovakia in European Events 1918-1988", prepared in October 1988. Part of the amount, DM4,000, she handed over to Libuse Silhava, the "Chartist" and former spokesperson of the "Charter" for "the expenses of the seminar."

J. Siklova provided the police with the deposit book number 12420095-8. She said that it contained part of the resources acquired from the "Charter" foundation in Stockholm and Vilem Precan. Obviously, this money was not "some kind of stipend" or even aid for those whom "this regime wanted by causing financial need to prevent from continuing in their work", as J. Silklova stated a few days ago on Radio Free Europe. As an example, she cited the low incomes of certain "Chartists." Is she right?

Jiri Hajek (former CSSR foreign minister), for example, collects Kcs2,800 as his old-age pension; Jiri Dienstbier (a former editor) received payment of more than Kcs4,500 in January; Petr Uhl (a former high school teacher) received more than Kcs5,000 during the same period... and we could go on like this. The funds, then, will not resolve the reputed onerous situation of the "Chartists." As a matter of fact, J. Siklova did not have the key to distribution in her hand many times. As she herself stated, and she handed over written accounts of the proceedings, in one diplomatic office in Prague she received instructions about to whom and how much she was to distribute from the funds sent from Munich.

Government Communique Issued on Prague Problems

AU1403132789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Mar 89 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "The CSSR Government Convened; Proposal for the Construction of a New Effluent Treatment Plant in Prague Discussed; On the Supplementing and Renewal of Vital Manufacturing Equipment in Selected Printing Houses"]

[Text] Prague—At its Thursday [9 March] meeting the CSSR Government was preoccupied with finding a solution to the ecological, health, transport, and construction problems of the capital city of Prague.

First of all, it discussed a report on the provisions for those conclusions from the meeting of representatives of the Czech Socialist Republic Government, the CPCZ City Committee in Prague, and the City of Prague National Committee which concern the federal central organs. After an in-depth discussion, the government decided to increase supplies of natural gas for Prague. It assigned the Ministry of Fuels and Power the task of drawing up and putting forward a timetable for the replacement of solid fuel in large heating plants, in furnaces, and in local heating plants, including the technical, economic, and social preparation of this program. It also assigned the task of speedily preparing the connection of a long distance heating conduit from the central heating plant under construction at Melnik for consumers in Prague. In consideration of the backlog of repairs by the housing fund, beginning in 1990 the repair fund will be increased by Kcs250-350 million, the necessary funds will also be released to import construction resources for making repairs from abroad, and nonconstruction organizations will have to engage to a greater extent in repairs, especially involving buildings which these organizations use. It decided that the program to reconstruct the House of Artists in Prague and its investment and supplier arrangement should be prepared before 31 March of this year. At the same time, members of the government agreed on certain other measures which should lead to the extension of Saturday and Sunday shopping hours for tourists and to an improvement in street cleaning and the appearance of window displays in the center of Prague. Soldiers from the Czechoslovak People's Army will be used to help mass city transport in Prague and to maintain the housing and apartment fund.

The government further discussed a proposal to construct a new effluent treatment plant in Prague. The complex of three structures, the first of which will be started this year, will fundamentally solve Prague's present effluent treatment situation, and after its completion in 1998, will considerably improve the protection of the quality of surface water, especially of the Vltava River. In addition to the capital city, part of the Central Bohemian Region will be linked to the new effluent treatment plant, which will cost roughly Kcs5 billion. At the same time, the government expressed its agreement with the draft concept for the structure which was selected from a total of 22 versions considered.

The CSSR Government acquainted itself with three reports concerning Prague: the projected influence of the participation of a foreign supplier on the present budget for the construction of the faculty hospital in Prague 5-Motol, the conclusions of state expert opinion on the task of designing the construction plan for an incinerator for solid city refuse in Prague-Malesice, and the conclusions of state expert opinion on the set of structures for Prague's basic communication system at the intersection of Komarovova and Ceskobrodska Streets.

At the end of the discussion on Prague the government decided that it will return to the approved measures in 6 months and will control how they are being fulfilled.

On the basis of the previous discussion on the renewal, reconstruction, and modernization of the manufacturing base of the printing industry in February of this year, the CSSR Government discussed a proposal for operative measures which will resolve the most seriously threatened production work of printing daily newspapers and journals. It decided to supplement and renew vital manufacturing equipment in selected printing houses and it earmarked koruna and foreign currency resources for this, which it will be possible to use beginning this year. During this 5-year plan, attention will be focused first and foremost on modernizing and expanding the production of photogravure journals in the Polygrafia national enterprise in Prague, on renewing equipment used to produce the regional West Bohemian daily PRAVDA in the Straz national enterprise in Plzen, on modernizing the printing operation in Kosice used for the offset printing of the daily PRAVDA and regional newspapers, and on reconstructing and modernizing the district printing houses in Poprad and Lucenec.

In harmony with its policy statement, the government discussed a proposal for resolving the main shortcomings in the internal market. The present situation has been caused mainly by the fact that the development of monetary earnings by the population, the retail trade turnover, and supplies to market funds during the course of last year and this year have significantly exceeded the proportions of the plan. After evaluating all of the circumstances, the government decided that it is necessary to finalize the submitted proposal, particularly in relation to the domestic production of consumer goods, and to clarify questions of imports. At the next meeting it will debate the thus supplemented proposal again.

The government acquainted itself with the results of the 130th meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance which took place in Moscow. At this meeting it approved the approach of the permanent CSSR representative to CEMA and assigned to the appropriate members of the government tasks arising from the meeting.

On the basis of the directive for restructuring the economic mechanism, the government discussed the draft principles for the foreign exchange bill and agreed with its further preparation.

The bill creates space and prerequisites for the development of foreign exchange self-financing. One of the basic criteria is that legal and physical entities which contribute to the creation or increasing of foreign exchange resources will share adequately in their use. The bill further creates conditions for the gradual convertability of the Czechoslovak koruna and the creation of the controlled foreign exchange market as an instrument of the economic redistribution of foreign currency.

The WHO published the principles for the correct methods of manufacturing drugs. These are internationally valid norms for the production and control of medicinal preparations which guarantee a maximum certainty about the reliable effect and safety of these drugs. The CSSR Government approved a set of measures which will guarantee CSSR accession to the WHO convention. It set the task of further working out a timetable for the gradual realization of the outlined principles for the manufacture of drugs.

The CSSR Government agreed with the proposal to conclude agreements between the CSSR Government and the governments of the Algerian Democratic and Popular Republic, the Yemen Arab Republic, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the State of Kuwait, and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah on the reciprocal provision of free medical care to members of diplomatic missions and consular offices, and the proposal to conclude the treaty between the CSSR and the SFRY on the mutual handing over of persons to serve prison sentences.

Lenart Chairs Party Industry Secretaries Meeting

LD1303213889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] A statewide meeting of the secretaries for party work in industry of the regional and city party committee in Prague and Bratislava chaired by Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, was held in Prague today.

Comrade Frantisek Hanus spoke about urgent tasks of party bodies and organizations in implementing the policy of the 17th congress and fulfilling the tasks of the 7th, 9th, and 12th sessions of the party Central Committee. Despite certain positive trends in the fulfillment of the tasks of the state plan last year, the meeting critically assessed the slow pace of raising efficiency and pushing through intensive development of the national economy. It also discussed the questions of ensuring the fulfillment of this year's state plan and drawing up the next year's plan in the new economic conditions. Its attention was focused in particular on the tasks of party bodies and organizations in completing the restructuring of organizational structures of production and the technical base, on implementing the elements of democratization of management and on raising the participation of the working people in it.

The meeting paid great attention to the preparation of the discussions of the annual membership meetings, all-plenary meetings, and party conferences, to invigorating the work of the party and the whole society in the spirit of the proclamation of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the occasion of the 41st anniversary of the Victorious February.

The meeting emphasized the need to pay greater attention to the preparation of the annual membership meetings in both their content and cadres aspects and to the course of discussions with party members and candidate members.

Comrade Jozef Lenart spoke at the conclusion of the meeting.

Urbanek Interviewed on Czech Party Work

LD1103212189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Interview with Karel Urbanek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the committee for party work in the Czech Socialist Republic, by unidentified correspondent, 11 March in studio—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] On 31 October last year, the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic [CPWCSR] began its work. Why did this committee come into being in the first place?

[Urbanek] The stimulus for setting up the CPWCSR came from discussion in the Central Committee Presidium on making use of the findings from the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference in our party work. There was talk about the wide sphere of the problems and among them about the assymetry in the building of the CPCZ. This lay above all in the fact that in the Slovak Socialist Republic the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee works out questions of a national and regional character and in the Czech Socialist Republic such an organ with the relevant competence did not exist. There are a number of reasons that led the Central Committee of our party to approve the committee. Among the decisive ones are the following:

The need to consistently secure the line set out by the 17th party congress and further worked out at sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee under the conditions of the Czech Socialist Republic.

To improve the party work of primary organizations, of central organs, in harmony with the demands of the present period. To create the prerequisite for evening out the assymetry in the building of the party and thus react to the numerous points made by officials and members on this question.

I wish to emphasize that this proposal was widely discussed with officials on the level of districts and regions and that it had support from an absolute majority of them.

[Correspondent] This naturally leads to the question: What is, in fact, the division of labor between the CPWCSR and the CPCZ Central Committee?

[Urbanek] The CPWCSR concerns itself with the basic political, economic, ideological, and cultural questions. It implements the leading role of the party concerning central, state, economic, social organs, and institutions in the Czech Socialist Republic, by means of party organizations, party groups, and Communists who work in them. It coordinates and checks the work of Communists in the Czech National Council, the Government of the Czech Socialist Republic, in social organizations, and other institutions. Also one of the basic tasks of the committee is the direction of party organs and organizations on the level of central organs and also party committees in national enterprises, the sphere of influence of which covers more than the territory of one region and comes under the direction of ministries of the Czech Socialist Republic. The evaluation of questions concerning the whole of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the direct management of the work of regions and districts is in the competence of the CPCZ Central Committee.

At the present time, documents are being prepared for discussion by the Central Committee Presidium on the work of the apparatus of the Central Committee and our committee where this activity will be designated even more precisely.

[Correspondent] Is the setting up of the CPWCSR not yet another growth in the party apparatus?

[Urbanek] I can answer this unequivocally, it is not. All the officials of the CPWCSR were workers of the party Central Committee so they have only been transferred. New officials were not appointed for the committee.

[Correspondent] Comrade Urbanek at the same time you are the chairman of the CPCZ Central Committee commission for the political system and a member of another two commissions of the party Central Committee: for working out the CPCZ Theses and for the preparation of amendments to the CPCZ Statutes. In what do you see the contribution of the existence and now also the work of these commissions?

[Urbanek] At present there are 13 standing commissions of the Central Committee working on the individual areas of the party. Then there are other commissions of the Central Committee, for example for working out the party program and statutes. This could give rise to the opinion that this is a large number but it is necessary to see that the main purpose of these commissions is to ensure that every member and candidate of the Central Committee can take the most active possible part in work for the creation and realization of party policy, particularly in preparation for the 18th CPCZ Congress. I would like to emphasize that working in these commissions are not only members and candidates of the Central Committee but also other experienced members of the party from various areas of the life of society, whose knowledge and ability are made use of for the preparation of documents including the party statutes which will be put forward for internal party discussion and the preparation of the principles of the CPCZ program, which will be evaluated by the public at large.

[Correspondent] Do you already have a concrete idea within the said commissions of the party Central Committee how the amendment of the CPCZ Statutes and the party theses could and should contribute to the political leadership of our society in the very near future?

[Urbanek] As far as the party statutes are concerned, an analysis of the effectiveness of the present statutes was made, and taking part in this was the majority of district and all the regional committees of the party. The commission came to the conclusion that the present statutes which were approved by the 12th congress and were then several times supplemented and amended, in principle fulfilled their task, but at present they do not correspond to the new conditions of party work in the period of restructuring and democratization of society.

To make them correspond to the requirements of the day it will be necessary above all to make changes in their content, to more unequivocally set out the Leninist principles and norms of existence of the new type of party in order to guarantee that the new statutes will have an influence on the development of the activity of every Communist, to formulate the rights and duties of Communists more precisely. For example, in article three of the party statute the party member has a right to personally attend meetings of the primary party organization which is dealing with his activity and behavior. A number of primary organizations and in particular party organs interpret this in their own way and do not invite the party member to such proceedings. Similarly, it will be necessary to set out more precisely the political and public work in the place where one lives, and there are other possibilities for solutions.

On the basis of evaluating the experiment in party building it will be necessary to set out tasks for individual party organs and organizations including the republic ones. Another key task of the preparation of the 18th congress is the working out of the CPCZ Theses. For this it will naturally be necessary to also set out the forms and methods of work which the party will in future decades implement in leading society.

[Correspondent] In all of your work you personally are also preparing the principles of the next stage of restructuring of socialist society. Do you think that after the 18th CPCZ Congress and in the 9th or even 10th 5-year plan the tasks of restructuring of our society will be somewhat different to those of today?

[Urbanek] I expect that on the basis of the experiences reached in the process of restructuring there will be a greater solidification of tasks. Certain amendments may also take place if it is shown that the adopted measures had a negative influence on the development of our economy, or possibly other areas. But the main goal is to create conditions for the more content life of man, just as the main task is to increase the effectiveness and quality of all work and the level of management while making a considerably greater use of the current findings of science and technology. These will undoubtedly continue to be valid.

Arms Manufacturer Seeks Alternative Program
AU1403132889

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 10 March on page 3 carries a 1,200-word article by Miroslav Zeman, RUDE PRAVO staff journalist, and Anton Jezik, editor of PREDSTIH [Lead, the enterprise newspaper of the Dubnica nad Vahom Heavy Engineering Works (ZTS)], entitled "The Tough School of Independence." The article deals with efforts of the Dubnica factory to find alternative production programs for the scaled-down production of military equipment. The article opens by saying that last year the rumor began to spread in the Vah valley that the Dubnica factory would "fire people" because "it has no work for 4,000 people."

It then quotes Engineer Anton Brunai, chairman of the socialist self-management council of the ZTS Martin combine (of which the Dubnica plant forms part), as saying: "We have never considered laying off people. Even though we have come up against big problems, we knew that we must put the potentials residing in our employees to use. The main difficulties have been rooted in the fact that the reduction of the key production program (as a result of the positive changes in international relations and the Warsaw Pact countries' disarmament initiatives) has affected even highly specialized experts assigned to the highest wage scale categories but narrowly specialized on some highly demanding operations."

Zeman and Jezik go on to say that there will not be any lay-offs, "with the exception of a few loafers no one here will miss," and that only 180 employees, mostly young people, will have to undergo retraining. This, they say, "will be made possible by the proposed expansion of existing future-oriented production programs and by the development of new production branches that conform at least partly with the production base and with people's qualifications." In the remaining part of the article, they discuss various production programs planned or considered by the Dubnica managers. These include the expanded production of high lift trucks, the production of agricultural transporters and handling equipment, small excavators for the building industry, snowmobiles, hydraulic equipment, single-purpose machine tools, as well as processing and packaging lines for the food industry.

Although the authors are optimistic about the future of the Dubnica factory, they concede that the change in the production structure will have an impact on the economic situation of the enterprise. This is because "a considerable part of materials and intermediary products earmarked for the original production have not found a use and remain in the warehouses" and because under long-term economic contracts the enterprise continues to receive "supplies which it will not need." This is said to increase the level of inventories and to aggravate the insolvency of the ZTS Martin combine. Another source of difficulty, according to the RUDE PRAVO article, is that, because the production program is still unclear, "it was not possible to draw up an annual plan and only quarterly plans are being drawn up."

Readers on Applicability of Slusovice Model
AU1403114289

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 9 March on page 4 carries a 2,000-word article by Zdenek Hoffmann, entitled "Courage To Be Enterprising." The article reviews readers' reactions to an interview with Frantisek Cuba, director of the Agrokombinat Slusovice agricultural cooperative, carried by RUDE PRAVO on 7 January, in which he discussed the cooperative's research and development policy and contended that its methods are applicable everywhere in Czechoslovakia.

The first letter, from Engineer Bohuslav Vranek from Zdar nad Sazavou, identifies the causes why Czechoslovak enterprises make little use of research and development as a source of higher labor productivity and production efficiency. Vranek says that the incentives for the more extensive application of new advances in science and technology are insufficient and that modern technology is too expensive while human labor is too cheap. In contrast to other industrial countries, Vranek says, it is much cheaper for a factory director in Czechoslovakia to pay workers overtime than to introduce industrial robots or computers. According to Vranek, Czechoslovak enterprises are also not compelled to innovate their products because Czechoslovak consumers are "grateful to get the product in question at all, even if its technical standards and quality lag behind." Finally, Vranek attributes the problems in applying scientific-technological progress to the inadequate extent to which Czechoslovakia is integrated in the international division of labor, which, he says, results from the "complicated and cumbersome" and "often contradictory" regulations governing contacts with foreign partners.

Other letters quoted in the article praise the publication of information on the Slusovice cooperative, but they also challenge Cuba's claim that the Slusovice model can be applied anywhere. Jaroslav Kucera from Ceske Budejovice, for example, says that "even if another enterprise took over the Slusovice economic order, it would not succeed in implementing it, because of the absolute lack of its cadres' preparedness! No matter how perfect a system of management and no matter how good the regulations one has, without an appropriate mode of thinking they will not yield the required results!" Vaclav Minar from Ostrava points out that, even though many managers have made field trips to Slusovice and studied its methods, "the results are minimal": "The manager comes home full of impressions and ideas and is even willing to put them into practice, but the next day he plunges into the solution of everyday problems and begins to realize that changes would bring him only additional problems, of which he has enough as it is. He cools off and returns to the old rut." A skeptical view is expressed also by Richard Pospisil from the CKD factory in Prague: "Our experience is that as soon as we mention the word Slusovice before some of our managers, the level of adrenaline in their blood rises." Pospisil also proposes that RUDE PRAVO organize a discussion with senior Czechoslovak managers on what stands in the way of the application of Slusovice methods.

The remaining responses to Cuba's interview concern the Slusovice director's individual remarks. J. Skrivanek from Prague, for example, objects to Cuba's complaint that a 50-percent levy on profits is too high, arguing that a 60-percent tax on profits is absolutely normal in European capitalist states. H. Kvetoslav from Benesov ponders Cuba's reservations about the new economic mechanism (in the interview, Cuba said that if 100 is the coefficient for optimal conditions, he would give the old mechanism a rating of 10 and the new mechanism a rating of 25). Kvetoslav says: "Because this statement was made by a nobody, but by a man who has demonstrated his expertise and abilities, I believe that his position should provide food for serious thought."

Daily on Problems of Romanian Agriculture

AU1103201089 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Mar 89 p 6

[Article by Jan Kokes from Bucharest: "Forty Years of the Collectivization of Agriculture in Romania; Successes and Problems"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Currently, all the Romanian press is marking the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the collectivization of agriculture, emphasizing successes, while problems are being, more or less, discussed mainly in expert circles.

During the past 4 decades, the Romanian agriculture, in which at the end of World War II almost feudal conditions still prevailed, has changed almost from the foundations, and at present, despite all its serious problems and shortcomings, it is an important branch of the national economy. Agricultural cooperatives and state agricultural enterprises are currently tilling 90 percent of the land, and the rest is being tilled by the private sector. **In this connection it is not without interest to know that after Poland, Romania has the largest private agricultural sector in the whole of Eastern Europe. The share of this sector in the statewide production of fruit, vegetables, and such like, is several times larger than those aforementioned 10 percent of land.**

Since 1945, the annual overall agricultural production has increased 9-fold; in 1945 this sector was employing up to 75 percent of the working population, whereas today only 28 percent are working in agriculture. Currently, the agricultural sector generates about 16 percent of the national income annually. The per-hectare-yields of the main agricultural staples are large, even though they considerably lag behind the European, and also the Czechoslovak average. [passage omitted] **On the basis of the overall per-hectare production, present day Romanian agriculture, according to experts, lies approximately in the middle of the second half of the European states.**

Even though progress in the past 40 years is undoubted, the contemporary Romanian agriculture struggles with a quantity of serious problems. There are, of course, several reasons for this. [passage omitted] One of these is that Romanian agriculture today lacks sufficient and quality machinery. This also is the reason for the large number of people working in this sector. Several other factors, such as poor organization of work, people's little interest in results, shortages of electricity and motor fuels, large losses during harvest, and so forth, have a negative effect. [passage omitted]

Of late, the controversial plan for so-called systemization of the structure of the Romanian countryside, which the public has not received unequivocally positively, has elicited many questions and problems. People continue to discuss it a lot. One also has to objectively say that the standard of living and the living conditions of the population in the countryside have palpably improved in Romania since the end of World War II. However, despite that there still is a great difference between the city and the countryside.

The developments of the recent years show that Bucharest wishes to resolve the serious problems of the Romanian agriculture and the supply of the population with food, above all by further strengthening the directive-administrative management, with bureaucratic methods, and, to a lesser degree, with economic and social measures. The results to date are modest, the high planned indicators are not being fulfilled. Also, the increased investments in this sphere since the beginning of the 1980's do not show to any marked extent. On the basis of this experts claim that expecting the fulfillment of the exceptionally demanding plans this year, when according to directives record harvests would be necessary in all spheres, as well as the fulfillment of the projections of the entire 5-year plan, is not realistic.

Daily on 'Critical Situation' of Environment

AU1403113389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Mar 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Environment on the Agenda of a Meeting of the Czech National Council"]

[Text] **Prague— Environmental problems will be on the agenda of the 14th meeting of the Czech National Council to be held at the end of March.**

The solution of ecological problems is a very weighty and a very urgent task for the Czech Socialist Republic (CSR), because we must address as fast as possible the consequences of the insufficient care in the past and the underestimation of the negative effects of the present day economic development. There is at present a critical situation not only regarding water purity, but also regarding the atmosphere and forests. We must strive for structural changes in the national economy. **The state of the environment must be perceived as an important factor which influences the standard of living of the population, their satisfaction and activity.**

The survey of ecology-related projects on CSR territory revealed that the fulfillment of the projections of the Eighth 5-Year Plan is endangered. For example, 25 projects could not be started in the first 3 years, above all because the blueprints had not been prepared and because the necessary technological and construction capacities had not been ensured. The implementation of ecological investment is greatly affected by the postponements of the construction of desulfurization equipment for power plants. The original intention was to start building several ecological projects in the current 5-year plan, but, thus far, only preparatory work on them has begun. Only at the end of this month a desulfurization concept is to be submitted to the CSSR Government, even though we pledged 5 years ago to implement the international convention on reducing—by the end of the next 5-year plan—emissions of sulfur dioxide by 30 percent compared with 1980.

At a press conference in Prague on Friday [10 March], **Vaclav Jirecek**, CSR minister of the interior and living environment, informed journalists, among other things, about the tasks of national committees in the care for the environment. He said that **bodies of state administration must become genuine rulers and administrators of the territories entrusted to them, and strive for better living conditions for their inhabitants.**

Need To Square Economy With Ecology Stressed

AU1303153089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Mar 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Economy Against Ecology?"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Today there is no particular need to convince anyone about the negative impact of thawing salt on the surrounding vegetation and environment. [passage omitted]

Why then, do we continue to spread it on roads? The answer seems to be logical: Because salt is the cheapest of all available chemicals; and so we economize. The enterprise and the sector save money—and nature is the loser.

The damage done to the environment exceeds all the savings many times over. Alas, this does not hurt those who "saved money" and, consequently, they do not care. [passage omitted]

Exactly a week ago, RUDE PRAVO wrote about another such contradiction—in connection with the need to phase out types of production making use of harmful Freons. The production cost of sprays using Freons is much lower than the cost of mechanical sprays or sprays using other gaseous propellants. As has also been pointed out by the minister of industry of the Czech Socialist Republic, this will be a serious economic problem. The replacement of Freons will require great investments.

In their letters our readers, too, present their opinions on the problem of ecology versus economy. Just one example for many. It concerns the production of acrylic acid in the Sokolov chemical plant. Acrylates are an outstanding export article—it costs the producer [of acrylates] Kcs6 to earn a dollar, compared with the national average of Kcs15. However, despite the manufacturer's assurance that he uses zero-waste and "ecological" technology, a considerable part of the population is opposed to the expansion of production. The commission for the environment of the Sokolov City National Committee has delivered the same opinion.

There were also people among us recommending that, in return for sizeable foreign exchange payments to the state coffers, waste from abroad be deposited on Czechoslovak territory. The Federal Government has resolutely rejected this.

One-sided, maximal, and instantaneous economic gains and approaches that do not take account of the protection and renewability of natural resources result, over the long term, in severe economic and other losses, losses that completely "drown" the original, seemingly attractive short-term economic benefits.

In our not too distant past, the so-called thriftiness unfortunately often took precedence over long-term ecological interests. "The plan is our master and nature will help itself," we were able to hear. At some places this sort of "logic" lingers on. [passage omitted]

In connection with the restructuring of our economy, the fear has surfaced that, under the pressure of the need for economic self-sufficiency, under the pressure to earn their living and to hold their own in competition, enterprises may ultimately "cheat" the environment even more. Those in production who might be tempted to think in this way will not get far. This is borne out by current findings from the pollution of waters, for instance, which now "costs" much more than it used to. Those who underestimate care for the environment and consistent ecological thinking and fail, for example, to build an effluent treatment plant will realize in a few years' time how disadvantageous for them this is.

Once, man declared war on nature. When it seemed that he was beginning to triumph over it, fortunately he realized that this would have been a victory at the cost of endangering his very existence. We are and will remain part of nature. We can develop economically only when respecting its laws.

Let us therefore assert, always and everywhere, that wise dictum: What is not ecological is not economically sound!

40 Years of Hungarian-Language Broadcast Marked

AU1403115389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Mar 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Forty Years of Czechoslovak Radio Hungarian-Language Programs; Intensifying the Flow of Information to the Public"]

[Excerpts] Tesedikovo—Forty years ago, after the February victory of the working people in Czechoslovakia, Hungarian-language broadcasts were resumed in order to deliver to the Hungarian working people in southern Slovakia the message of their equal status on the basis of the Leninist nationality policy of the CPCZ. A festive gathering commemorated the anniversary of the Czechoslovak Radio's Hungarian-language programming in the House of Culture in Tesedikovo on Saturday [11 March]. [passage omitted]

The participants underscored the achievement of the Czechoslovak Radio's Hungarian-language programming in winning over and activating our Hungarian fellow citizens for socialist changes, in molding Czechoslovak patriotism and international unity of our nations and nationalities, and in the implementation of the policy of the CPCZ. The Main Editorial Office of the Hungarian-language programs today has 43 staff members and broadcasts 35 hours weekly. [passage omitted]

Soviet Weekly Banned in GDR Due to Walesa Article

AU1503102589 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 15 Mar 89 p 3

[Excerpt] Leipzig—[Passage omitted] GDR censorship has again fallen on a Soviet medium: the sale of the Soviet magazine NOVOYE VREMYA (NEW TIMES), which contained an interview with Polish workers leader Lech Walesa, has been banned. [passage omitted]

Leaders View Cooperation at Leipzig Spring Fair

Honecker Tours Pavilions

LD1203133789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1257 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Leipzig (ADN)—The Leipzig Spring Trade Fair began on Sunday morning under the traditional motto "For Open World Trade and Technological Progress." At 0900 the 16 fair pavilions in the city center and the exhibition halls on the fair site were opened. Until 18 March, some 9,000 exhibitors from five continents are displaying technological and consumer goods, and are offering extensive chances for the study of scientific-technological excellence, at the largest East-West marketplace, with its 16 specialized sections. Every other exhibitor is from abroad. [passage omitted]

At the start of the Leipzig Spring Fair (12 to 18 March), Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and other members of the party and state leadership conducted a walking tour.

Together with Erich Honecker were members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; Joachim Hermann, Werner Jarowinsky, Guenther Kleiber, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Guenter Mittag, Harry Tisch, and Gerhard Schuerer. They stopped at GDR and foreign exhibits. Also present were Deputy Chairmen of the Council of Ministers Wolfgang Rauchfuss and Horst Soelle, as well as other members of the SED Central Committee and of the Council of Ministers.

Dr Gerhard Beil, GDR foreign trade minister, gave a cordial welcome to the personages from the party and state leadership. In a brief address, he stated that in preparation for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR and for the 12th SED Congress, the workers had striven particularly hard in order for this fair to mirror the historic achievements of socialism on German soil.

During his tour of the fair, Erich Honecker paid a visit to the stand of Trumpf Gmbh and Co., Ditizingen Machinery Works, of the FRG. For 10 years, business relations have been in existence with this Baden-Wuerttemberg firm, which mainly supplies sheet metal processing centers to the GDR and, for its part, uses products from the GDR machine tool industry.

During the conversation with Erich Honecker, Berthold Leibinger, chairman of the board, stressed his hope for continuing and flourishing cooperation with partners in the GDR.

Under the motto of the 1989 Leipzig Fairs, "Flexible Automation," the GDR machine tool construction industry is demonstrating its position as an international leader to the commerical world, by means of top scientific- technological achievements. [passage omitted] It was in this section, which is also decisive in setting the pace for rationalization, especially in the metal processing industry, that the walking tour started.

Dr Rudi Georgi, minister for construction of machine tools and processing machinery, briefed the party on how the 140,000 workers in this sector had performed good work in honor of the GDR's 40th anniversary. [passage omitted]

In front of the graphic model of a CIM [computer-input microfilm] unit for the metal processing industry, there was a lively exchange of views between the guests and Minister Dr Rudi Georgi; Felix Meier, minister for electrical engineering and electronics; director general of combines in these two sectors; and leading scientists from research and training establishments. On this occasion, the discussion centered on how the pace can be accelerated in machine construction by means of the complex application of microelectronics, CAD/CAM and computer technology, in keeping with modern developments, and how all forces and resources can be concentrated on this aim. [passage omitted]

In front of the model of a production hall in the Karl-Marx-Stadt parent works of the "Fritz Heckert" machine tool combine, its director general, Professor Rudolf Winter, explained the strategy of flexible automation as far forward as completely computer-integrated operation. [passage omitted]

The performance capabilities of the machine-tool industry in supplying components for flexible automation in metal processing is being demonstrated by the combines of this sector. [passage omitted]

During their walking tour, Erich Honecker and the other members of the party and state leadership stopped at a press from the "Herbert Warnke" Farming Technology Combine, Erfurt, which at some 10 meters high, towers over all the other exhibits. Director General Otto Brandt explained that this press is part of a production cell by means of which some 20,000 medium-sized sheet metal parts per day can be manufactured. Thus the machine tool construction sector is for the first time ready to form flexible systems of this sort without cutting. Erich Honecker said that the workers of the combine were on course to reach the top of the field with performances like this, and with their numerous good ideas and initiatives.

More than 120 flexible automatic production systems from the GDR machine tool construction center have hitherto proven their value in the national economy and to customers abroad. [passage omitted]

Erich Honecker and the other members of the party and state leadership concluded their visit to the exhibition of the GDR machine tool construction center with words of thanks for the achievements of the workers in these combines.

The first foreign stop on the tour was the CSSR foreign trade enterprise Strojimport, which represents important machine tool construction factories. Ambassador Frantisek Langer conveyed greetings to Erich Honecker from Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and from other representatives of that friendly neighboring country. He pointed out that the CSSR was once again one of the biggest exhibitors in Leipzig this year. In the comprehensive and trusting cooperation with the GDR, economic matters were accorded particular importance. The CSSR and the GDR, he said, were each other's second largest trading partner within CEMA. The ambassador described the Leipzig Fair as the most important exhibitions in which CSSR foreign trade enterprises participated abroad.

Erich Honecker remarked that the Strojimport stand was well located, next door to the range on offer from the GDR machine tool construction sector. To mark the 40th anniversary of cooperation betweeen the GDR and the CSSR, Frantisek Langer presented the general secretary of the SED Central Committee with a lead crystal vase on which the two countries and the anniversary figure are engraved. Erich Honecker expressed cordial thanks and wishes for continuing good cooperation.

At the exhibition of Bulgaria, which is the GDR's second largest trading partner, Erich Honecker, accompanied by Deputy Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Kristyu Popov, was welcomed by Ambassador Petur Mezhdurechki. He conveyed personal greetings from Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, which Erich Honecker warmly reciprocated.

The ambassador said that in its main emphasis what Bulgaria was exhibiting reflected the fair's main theme of "flexible automation" and the increased performance of its engineering sector. He stressed that trade and economic relation between the two countries was developing in a stable, steady, and dynamic fashion. The sound basis for this was the "program for expansion and deepening of the economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the GDR and Bulgaria for the period to the year 2000" signed 1 and ½ years ago by the two heads of state.

Nenko Goranov, general secretary of the industrial association "Integrated Automation of Technological Processes," then introduced the association's exhibits.

Erich Honecker wished the Bulgarian exhibitors—who were also strongly represented in the electrical engineering, electronic, materials handling and moving technology, and the food and semiluxury goods sectors—a successful fair.

At the joint stand of the Belgian machine tool industry, Ambassador Theo Lansloot brought the conversation round to the economic talks scheduled for May during a GDR visit by Prince Albert of Liege, honorary president of the Belgian state foreign trade enterprise OBCE. He hoped that trade relations between the two countries would continue to develop in a stable manner in machine tool construction, and also in other sectors. Erich Honecker remarked that bilateral contacts were on the increase. This is the most important thing, and he is in total agreement with the ambassador on this. [passage omitted]

The exhibitors from the Socialist Republic of Romania are celebrating their 40th anniversary of the fair in Leipzig. Ambassador Gheorghe Caranfil referred to this. He conveyed greetings and best wishes from Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and Romanian president, which Erich Honecker cordially reciprocated. Gheorghe Caranfil lauded the state of economic relations between the two countries. Romania is ready to fulfill all obligations arising from the annual protocol on mutual supplies of goods and services for 1989. This is why the Romanian exhibitors are making efforts to agree upon exports valued at R300 million with the GDR during the fair.

In the exhibition of Mazineexportimport, the foreign trade enterprise, Erich Honecker was shown new developments in Romanian heavy engineering as a contribution to this year's main theme of "flexible automation."

Ambassador Caranfil, who assessed cooperation between the two countries in the heavy engineering sector as being good, presented a radio erosion cutting machine and a milling machine with microelectronic control from the GDR. All GDR machine tool imports from Romania are finished with this control unit. Erich Honecker described this as a good example of bilateral cooperation which should be developed further. He wished the Romanian exhibitors much success in their work. Mutual trade between the GDR and Romania reaches over R1 billion per annum. [passage omitted]

Ambassador Dr Ernoe Lakatos told Erich Honecker that the record participation of Hungarian firms in the Leipzig Spring Fair was an expression of growing bilateral trade relations. The protocol on mutual trade envisaged a further increase in turnover this year. To date, the two countries had already signed contracts for 80 percent of the trade planned for this year.

The forthcoming visit to the Leipzig Spring Fair by Tamas Beck, minister of trade of the Hungarian People's Republic and cochairman of the Hungary-GDR Joint Economic Committee, would be seen by his country's foreign trade enterprises as a spur to further business, the ambassador said. The Hungarian firms represented in Leipzig were optimistic about trade activity, because bilateral relations were based on a "web of integration of the national economies consisting of thousands of strands."

Erich Honecker expressed thanks for the friendly welcome and spoke in favor of an expansion of economic relations. He wished the exhibitors much success in further cooperation with the GDR for the benefit of the peoples of the two countries.

Fifty-one Hungarian foreign trade enterprises have come to the fair. As in the trade with the GDR, their exhibits are dominated by electrical engineering/electronic and engineering products. Over 60 percent of mutual trade and the majority of the 33 specialization and cooperation agreements are accounted for by these product groups. [passage omitted]

The long-term program for the development of cooperation between the GDR and Poland in science, technology, and production up to the year 2000 is proving to be a viable foundation for continually increasing trade. This was pointed out by Polish Deputy Premier Janusz Patorski who, together with Ambassador Janusz Obodowski and Trade Counsellor Tadeusz Grabski, welcomed the members of the GDR party and state leadership to the stand of the Polish machine tool exporters. [passage omitted]

Janusz Patorski conveyed greetings from Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR Council of State, which Erich Honecker cordially reciprocated. The two sides stated that good results had been achieved in cooperation, but that considerable resources remain to be utilized.

Erich Honecker agreed with the assessment that microelectronics and other key technologies should be single-mindedly advanced as the 'locomotives' of the national economic development of the two countries. Erich Honecker expressed satisfaction at the satisfactory development of trade and cooperation in science and technology. Good progress is also discernible in the quality of products. They agreed that youth in the two countries are particularly committed to the introduction of key technologies. A good foundation for the exchange of experience was formed by the youths of the two countries, which had been agreed between the GDR and the PPR and has already led to many personal contacts between young workers and engineers.

At the Mitsubishi Corporation stand, which has been represented at the fair since 1971, there was an animated conversation between Japanese Ambassador Hirokazu Arai and Erich Honecker. The diplomat, who welcomed Erich Honecker to the applause of the representatives of Japanese firms, expressed his pleasure at taking part in the traditional Leipzig Fair in the 40th year of the founding of the GDR. Relations between Japan and the GDR are developing steadily in the political, economic, and cultural spheres, he said. [passage omitted]

He noted that the 17th joint session of the Japan-GDR and GDR-Japan economic committees is to be held in Tokyo in October. This meeting is intended to promote the active exchange of views.

The ambassador wished Erich Honecker well and the spring fair every success. After this, he introduced to Erich Honecker Uzuhiko Uwatoko, president of the Tokyo Engineering Corporation; Kinichi Kadono, vice president of Toshiba; Mitsui board member Kazutami Ishiguri; and Mitsubishi board member Takeshi Eguchi.

Erich Honecker thanked the ambassador, whose remarks had stressed the great agreement between the GDR and Japan regarding the development of friendly relations. These relations will develop in an upward trend for decades to come. We are convinced that the forthcoming meeting of the economic committees wil bring further results in this direction, Erich Honecker stressed. He expressed his pleasure at the large number of firms at this year's spring fair. Their visit to the GDR in the 40th year of its existence will help to achieve the goals which the ambassador highighted, Erich Honecker said.

On a stand considerably larger than last year's, the PRC is exhibiting a collective display of goods from 14 provinces and cities. We can note with satisfaction, said Ambassador Zhang Dake, that the relations of friendship and cooperation between China and the GDR are developing constantly. Speaking of the presence of Chinese exhibitors at Leipzig Fairs since 1951, he stressed the good opportunities offered by this international marketplace to find out about the historic achievements of his home country.

Erich Honecker pointed out that both the GDR and China are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the founding of their socialist states. He cordially reciprocated the greetings passed on to him from Deng Xiaoping, chairman of CPC Central Committee Military Commission, and Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of CPC Central committee. Ambassador Zhang Dake introduced to the GDR Leader PRC Deputy Construction Minister Gan

Zhijian, who is in the GDR at the invitation of the Ministry of Environmental protection. This was a symbol of the good cooperation between the two countries, he said. [passage omitted]

At Great Britain's information stand, the chairman of the British Oversea Trade Board, Sir James Cleminson, and Ambassador Nigel Robert Allen Broomfield welcomed Erich Honecker and conveyed greetings to him from Margaret Thatcher. The British Government and the country's industry wanted to see trade between the two states grow in both directions, Sir James Cleminson said. He expressed his pleasure at the fact that the balance sheet had recently improved in favor of the United Kingdom. Over 100 British companies and firms would be exhibiting their products at the spring fair. The demand for exhibition space had been greater than the possibility to fully satisfy it. He personally wished Erich Honecker a long life and good health.

Erich Honecker expressed thanks for the prime minister's greetings and said that he shared the hopes with regard to the further development of bilateral trade and its growth in both quantity and quality. The present results were excellent.

Business people from the Netherlands are expecting continuity and growth in economic relations with the GDR. This applies especially to the more than 80 exhibitors under the aegis of the Netherlands Foreign Trade Service, EVD, at whose stand the members of the party and state leadership were met by ambassador Carel J. Schneider and Jan de Blick, respectively chairman of the Netherlands Chamber of Commerce for the GDR and vice president of the chemical company KTI.

Dr Scheider said that Netherlands firms are looking forward to doing a lot of business with their GDR partners. In this connection, he referred to the visit to the GDR at the beginning of the month by the Netherlands Minister of Foreign Trade Yvonne van Rooy [title as received], which resulted in the creation of good conditions for further positive developments in bilateral trade. The future looks good, the ambassador said. Erich Honecker agreed to this and replied that all the preconditions for this existed. The 25 percent increase is quite respectable. He wished the Dutch business people well and much success. [passage omitted]

Trade between Finland and the GDR has developed well in both directions, stressed Ambassador Arto Tanner at the stand of the country's information office, which has been represented in Leipzig for 35 years. Decisive momentum had been given to this by the talks between Erich Honecker and President Mauno Koivisto during the latter's state visit to the GDR in autumn 1987. When the GDR reaches its 40th year in the autumn, our bilateral trade relations will also be the same age, the ambassador said. He spoke in favor of increasing effort on both sides to increase trade turnover.

Erich Honecker replied that bilateral relations had indeed developed well. On the basis of a trade balance kept in equilibrium, it is important to raise cooperation to an even higher level. [passage omitted]

At his country's stand, Spanish Minister of Industry and Energy Jose Claudio Aranzadi said there had been a noticeable revival in industrial cooperation with the GDR since Erich Honecker's visit to Spain last autumn. Ambassador Alonso Alvarez de Toledo y Merry del Vall welcomed the representatives at the stand.

The minister expressed his pleasure at heading a delegation of representatives of 14 Spanish companies in Leipzig. [passage omitted]

For years we have been taking brown coal briquettes from the GDR, Jose Claudio Aranzadi said, and in the future we could also collaborate in the development and use of environment-friendly processes. The minister also sees possibilities for cooperation between leading companies of the two countries in the machine tool manufacturing sphere.

We had the opportunity this morning to view some new developments from this industrial branch, Erich Honecker said, and pointed to the increasing importance of microelectronics in the GDR's machine tool manufacturing industry. He had happy memories of his visit to Spain. Without doubt, relations between Spain and the GDR had received a significant boost since then. All conditions were present for their further development, for example in the scientific-technical sphere.

The exchange of goods between the GDR and France had developed strongly since the last fair, stated Ambassador Joelle Timsit on greeting Erich Honecker at the information stand of the French Foreign Trade Center CFCE. In my opinion, we can even improve trade relations in the next months, she said and recalled that GDR Foreign Trade Minister Dr Gerhard Beil was in France in January and held numerous talks in Paris with various ministers of her country. With this in mind, I hope that our relations will continue to unfold, the ambassador concluded.

For his part, Erich Honecker praised the good cooperation between the GDR and France. There are all the preconditions necessary to take such measures this year and significantly expand mutual economic relations.

France has been participating in the Leipzig Fair for 40 years. Its companies are represented in eight sectors. The focus of the French exhibition is products of metallurgy and heavy engineering; plant and machine tools; electrical engineering; electronics; information technology; and railroad wagons. [passage omitted]

The presence of leading Austrian political and economic representatives at Leipzig and the once again high number of 104 exhibitors demonstrate Austria's continuing strong interest in trade with the GDR. This was expressed in the talks at the Federal Chamber of Commerce stand, where its President Rudolf Sallinger welcomed Erich Honecker and the other members of the group. A cordial welcome was also expressed by Robert Graf, economic affairs minister; Ambassador Franz Wunderbaldinger; Ingrid Tichy-Schreder, vice president of the Chamber of Commerce; and the directors general of famous enterprises.

Over a glass of Austrian quality wine, it was noted that bilateral economic relations have been developing continuously and dynamically. Erich Honecker paid tribute to the Austrian Chamber of Commerce's great contribution to the development of trade, President Rudolf Sallinger replied that it was impossible to imagine what bilateral relations would be like without his institution.

Minister Robert Graf reaffirmed his government's interest in the continuation of the path jointly taken. We are very pleased that things are going as they are, he said. Erich Honecker agreed with this and expressed the GDR's desire to cultivate the exemplary cooperation in many sectors and to develop it further. In conclusion, he asked the minister to pass on cordial greetings to Austrian Chancellor Dr Franz Vranitzky. [passage omitted]

A specialist exhibition by machine tool manufacturers is included in the range of goods offered by Italian firms. This was pointed out by Alberto Rossi, secretary of state in the Italian Foreign Trade Ministry. Prior to this, together with Ambassador Dr Alberto Indelicato he had passed on the Italian Government's greetings to the general secretary and State Council chairman. The traditional presence of Italian industry was proof of their interest in the GDR. Mr Rossi expressed his satisfaction over the improvement in trade relations in general and the increase in trade in particular. On the Italian side, this could be regarded as a pledge for the further development of economic relations between the two states.

Finally Alberto Rossi reminded his listeners that bilateral cooperation in the science and technology sectors had been successfuly expanded on the basis of a relevant agreement. This was demonstrated by the frequent contacts between research institutes and universities in both countries. They helped to create new preconditions for economic cooperation.

Erich Honecker thanked his host for the cordial words of welcome. He felt that bilateral relations were developing well. One could not overlook the fact that the development of trade and scientific-technical cooperation was of benefit for both peoples. In Erich Honecker's words, mutual contacts are part of increased cooperation. This strengthens the friendship between the two countries.

Greek Charge d'Affaires Franciscos Verros passed on to Erich Honecker the warmest greetings of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, the government of the Mediterranean country, and the Greek people. The Greek head of government regards Erich Honecker as a firm friend, the diplomat said. Erich Honecker expressed his thanks for the greetings and asked that they be reciprocated just as cordially. This also included a desire for action to further develop bilateral relations, cooperation and contacts between the two peoples in the interests of peace.

Franciscos Verros described the level of political relations between the GDR and Greece as excellent. They formed the basis for the further development of joint economic and commercial work. Greek's 10 years of participation in the Leipzig Fair is proof of the interest in continuing to work for the development of these mutually beneficial relations, the charge d'affaires said.

"Relations between the two countries are indeed excellent," Erich Honecker noted. He described them as exemplary for cooperation between countries with different social orders. [passage omitted]

At the official U.S. information stand in Hall 16, Erich Honecker spoke of the GDR's strong interest in the developing lively trade and economic relations with the United States. He was welcomed by Ambassador Richard Clark Barkley, who informed his guest about the high technology presented at this year's Leipzig Spring Fair by well-known U.S. firms. As an example, the ambassador mentioned the 32-bit Intraco computer, which is being seen for the first time in Eastern Europe at the spring fair.

In his conversation with the U.S. ambassador, Erich Honecker pointed to the GDR machine tool exhibition and the high technology offered there. We are, of course, prepared to develop lively trading with the United States, particularly in this field, and in other sectors, he stressed. The GDR is very interested in developing relations with the United States, both in the economic and the cultural sphere.

Erich Honecker thanked his host for the greetings message from U.S. President George Bush to the Leipzig Spring Fair and cordially reciprocated it. At the end of this visit to the U.S. stand, Erich Honecker wished the firms represented in Leipzig and the U.S. Trade Department good business. [passage omitted] At Ethiopia's stand Erich Honecker, who was welcomed by Ambassador Lema Gutema, endorsed the further development of the closest relations between the two fraternally allied countries. He also wished the country future success in its development in the Horn of Africa.

Foreign Minister Tadesse Gebre Kidan conveyed the most cordial greetings from Mengistu Haile Mariam, WPE secretary general and president of Ethiopia, which were equally cordially reciprocated by Erich Honecker. [passage omitted]

At the collective stand of the Republic of Iraq, Ambassador Riyad al-Azzawi said that he was hoping for a further deepening of relations with the GDR. Erich

Honecker stressed that the GDR is interested in further developing cooperation in all sectors and in expanding trade. He asked the ambassador to convey his greetings to Iraq's leadership. [passage omitted]

At the Republic of India's stand, Erich Honecker was welcomed by Ambassador Jagannath Doddamani and exhibition director Shama Beg. India, which has been regularly represented in Leipzig since 1956, is offering more and more industrial goods. The ambassador presented products from the microelectronics, electrical engineering, and mechanical engineering sectors to his visitors. Industrial development, which is also of political importance for the subcontinent, has recently been given particular support by the GDR. The ambassador named as examples of this the recently concluded agreement between the two countries in the science and technology sector and the agreements of the 8th session of the joint GDR-India Economic Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation, which took place in Delhi in February. [passage omitted]

Erich Honecker said that he was pleased about the dynamic development of political and economic relations between the GDR and India. He asked that his cordial greetings be conveyed to the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

With an area of 700 square meters the 68 exhibitors from the Islamic Republic of Iran are occupying considerable space in Hall No 16. Iranian Ambassador Dr Hamid Reza Asefi welcomed the GDR representatives warmly. He referred to the positive results in scientific-technological bilateral cooperation in the most varied spheres. Erich Honecker replied that, in spite of difficult conditions, there are good contacts between the two countries.

So, in the future there will be close cooperation in the cement, porcelain production, and energy industries. The GDR supplies wheat mills, machine tools, diesel generators, and refrigeration technology to Iran.

For the first time, PLO Ambassador Dr Isam Kamil Salim received the chairman of the GDR Council of State at the stand of the state of Palestine. The diplomat delivered the warmest greetings from Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, and expressed the thanks of the Palestinian people for the GDR's solidarity and help. With the proclamation of the Palestinian state, a decisive step toward the Palestinian people achieving complete sovereignty had been taken, replied Erich Honecker. He asked the ambassador to convey warm greetings to Yasir 'Arafat and gave the assurance that the GDR will continue to stand firmly at the side of the state of Palestine.

The PLO's economic organization "SAMED" [expansion unknown] has been exhibiting products of arts and crafts and textiles from its own workshops and enterprises for 15 years.

Cuban Ambassador Ramiro del Rio Perez-Teran conveyed the warmest greetings of Fidel Castro to Erich Honecker. He recalled the recently ended visit of Horst Soelle to Cuba and said that this was of great significance for both sides.

Erich Honecker stressed to the ambassador that he is pleased that the agreements between the two countries are being kept to and implemented in an exemplary way. The GDR will also send specialists to Cuba in order to help with the building up of the cement industry, on the basis of existing agreements. [passage omitted]

SRV Ambassador Tu Huu Canh acknowledged the good development in bilateral relations, which also expresses itself in the employment of and training of Vietnamese workers in the GDR. He expressed thanks for the attention paid to Vietnamese workers in the GDR and wished much success in this the 40th year of the GDR and in the preparations for the 12th SED Congress. Erich Honecker said that the cooperation that has developed is advantageous for both sides. The Vietnamese workers are making an important contribution to building socialism in the GDR, he stated. [passage omitted]

The People's Republic of Mozambique is represented with a collective exhibition at the Leipzig Spring Fair for the 13th time. The ambassador of the eastern African country, Julio Goncalo Braga, warmly received the members of the GDR party and state leadership. Their visit to the stand was of special significance, he said, for the two countries had signed the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation 10 years ago.

The ambassador conveyed to Erich Honecker the internationalist greetings from Mozambican President Joaquim Alberto Chissano, and the chairman of the Council of State expressed his thanks. The spring fair, he said, offered excellent opportunities to further discuss the expansion of the successful relations. The ambassador also confirmed this and referred to the Indel enterprise, resident in Maputo, as an example. This firm has been cooperating with several GDR firms in the production of lights for private homes and radios for 10 years. The 1 millionth radio will be manufactured there by the end of 1989. Aside from this type of product, the Mozambican goods at the fair are primarily food and drink and hard coal, marble, and minerals.

At the collective stand of the Ministry of Trade and Industry of Cyprus, Erich Honecker and the other GDR personalities were welcomed by the stand's director Costas Lemoniatis. The chairman of the Council of State said that Cyprus was a very beautiful country, and he liked to think back to his visit of 1982. He wished successful business transactions to the 25 enterprises from the island state represented in Leipzig. [passage omitted]

At the Syrian collective stand, Ambassador Dr Faysal Summaq paid tribute to the GDR's support above all in the electrification of the country and in agricultural development. He passed on to Erich Honecker the cordial greetings of Hafiz al-Asad, general secretary of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and President of the Syrian Arab Republic. Erich Honecker expressed thanks for the greetings and spoke in favor of further developing bilateral relations. [passage omitted]

With the founding of the Arab Cooperation Council Egypt's economic relations with the Gulf states had achieved a new quality, Ambassador Mustafa Hanafi stated during his meeting with Erich Honecker. As a friend and partner of long standing the GDR is to be included in these new economic relations. Egypt hoped for further support from the GDR in economic development. His country, the ambassador stressed, would do everything to expand relations and economic cooperation with the GDR.

Erich Honecker stressed that the GDR is interested in further expanding trade on the basis of friendship and cooperation. The formation of the Arab Cooperation Council could contribute to this by also developing new possibilities for multilateral cooperation. Erich Honecker said that he would support the further deepening of mutual relations and the elimination of problems still unsolved.

Egypt is represented in Leipzig by a collective exhibition of 44 firms.

Ambassador Lawry Wilson Herron acknowledged the long-standing trade relations between the GDR and Australia. In conversation with Erich Honecker, he expressed the hope that they will continue to develop well. Erich Honecker referred to the good opportunities which the Leipzig Fair offers to extend bilateral trade. [passage omitted]

Canada has been taking part in the Leipzig Fair for 30 years. He is pleased, said Ambassador Eric John Bergbusch, that he can welcome Erich Honecker to the Canadian stand on this anniversary. GDR exports to Canada have grown immensely in the last year and we want to keep pace, the ambassador said. Hence the trading bank Canadian Commercial Corporation, which promotes the foreign trade activities of medium-sized companies, and the Kloeckner-Stadler-Hurter concern are present in Leipzig. The latter specializes in the construction of paper mills. The Canadian Government promotes the goods offered by Kloeckner-Stadler-Hurter, the ambassador said and added: We believe that we will be successful because we have the best technology.

Erich Honecker expressed his warm thanks and stressed that the GDR is interested in further developing trade to their mutual benefit. In this process, Canada's export interests should be taken into account. [passage omitted]

The GDR has been exporting potash to Norway for more than 2 decades and in return it receives fish products, metallurgical products, and textiles. At the official information stand of the northern European country's export council, Norwegian Ambassador Erik Christian Selmer referred in conversation with Erich Honecker to their meeting at the same place 1 year ago. Then, referring to disarmament and mutually advantageous trade, Erich Honecker said: fewer weapons and more trade. The ambassador acknowledged how very patiently Erich Honecker had supported this. The two sides had successfully carried on working to develop trade. Erik Christian Selmer said: We must do the job properly. Count us in, emphasized the chairman of the Council of State.

In order to develop bilateral economic relations the GDR-Norway mixed commission has agreed to expand GDR exports of products made by the machine building, electrical engineering, and the primary chemical and light industries.

By comparison with the 1988 spring fair, Denmark has increased the size of its exhibition space by 25 percent. At the export promotion central information stand, the guests were warmly welcomed by Ambassador Erik Herluf Krog-Meyer and by Erik Tygesen, secretary of state in the Danish Foreign Ministry. The increased representation of Danish firms and companies is an expression of the greater interest in developing trade with the GDR, the secretary of state said. He stressed that during Prime Minister Poul Schlueter's visit to the GDR in September 1988, new opportunities for this at a higher level had been discussed. Erich Honecker replied that he fully shared this optimism, for the state visit had in this respect clearly had a good effect. The State Council chairman wished the Danish exhibiters further success for the benefit of positive development in economic relations between the two countries. [passage omitted]

At the information stand of the Swedish Foreign Trade Council, Ambassador Henrik Liljegren; Gunnar B. Janson; chairman of the Committee for the Promotion of Trade Between Sweden and the GDR; and other personalities welcomed the members of the party and state leadership.

Ambassador Liljegren brought Erich Honecker a message from Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson. "I have asked the Swedish ambassador to the GDR to convey to you in connection with the Leipzig Spring Fair once again my best personal wishes and to give you my sincere thanks for the hospitality which you gave me in connection with my visit to the GDR," it says in the message. "On the occasion of the Leipzig Spring Fair, I would also like to express the hope that the trade and cooperation between the GDR and Sweden will be able to develop along the guidelines which we agreed on during my visit and that the plan for cooperation, which we discussed in particular in the sphere of environmental protection, will be able to be implemented. Because this year Sweden is taking part in the Leipzig Fair for the

35th consecutive time, I would like also to take this opportunity to convey to the management of the Leipzig Fair my greetings and my thanks. I wish the Swedish exhibitors and their business partners in the GDR successful cooperation which is fruitful for both partners."

Erich Honecker gave thanks for the conveying of the message from the prime minister. He emphasized that the relations between the GDR and Sweden had developed generally well. The Leipzig Fair offered widespread opportunities to further extend these connections. The GDR would fulfill all the agreements it had made. The chairman of the Council of State asked the ambassador to convey warm greetings to Prime Minister Carlsson.

Sweden is represented in Leipzig by almost 70 enterprises and firms.

The last stop on their walking tour was the collective exhibition of the USSR. Erich Honecker and the other party and state leaders were warmly welcomed by the head of the Soviet Government delegation to the spring fair, Nikolay Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; USSR Ambassador Vyacheslav Kochemasov; Vyacheslav Melnik, director of the exhibition; and Army General Boris Snetkov, commander in chief of the GSFG. [passage omitted]

In the Soviet pavilion, Leningrad and the Belorussian SSR are represented by separate exhibitions. [passage omitted]

Following the walkabout, there was a friendly get-together, at which Nikolay Talyzin and GDR Foreign Trade Minister Dr Gerhard Beil made speeches.

First Contracts Concluded

AU1403125389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—On Sunday [12 March] the Robotron Export-Import foreign trade enterprise and the CSSR KOVO foreign trade enterprise concluded the first contracts at the Leipzig Spring Fair. Robotron will export EC 1057 electronic data processing systems and a large number of 1834 personal computers; KOVO will supply EC 1027 electronic data processing systems.

A contract on the delivery of a steam reforming and gas fractionator ready for operation for the Schwarzheide synthesis plant was concluded between the Industrial Plant Construction-Import foreign trade enterprise and a consortium headed by the S.A.T.L. Company, France.

In addition, the Industrial Plan Construction-Import foreign trade enterprise concluded a contract on the reconstruction of the annealing plant in the Ilsenburg plate rolling mill. A consortium of the firms LOI, FRG, and VOEST, Austria, was commissioned with this project.

USSR's Talyzin Signs Agreement

LD1303230489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1814 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Leipzig (ADN)—The signing of numerous contracts and talks between ministers and representatives of GDR trade and industrial enterprises with East and West European partners were today's main events at the Leipzig Spring Fair.

In the presence of a Soviet Government delegation, headed by USSR Deputy Premier Nikolay Talyzin, an agreement was signed to set up a joint USSR-GDR enterprise. It is a scientific production center for the development, supply, and servicing of software and data processing systems, which will contribute to the further deepening of the long-term cooperation agreed upon between the GDR and the USSR.

Machine tool manufacturers of both countries signed a contract on mutual deliveries in 1990 worth some R190 million. Today the USSR brought marine diesel engines and marine sets from the Karl Liebknecht heavy engineering combine.

GDR foreign trade enterprises also signed contracts with several Austrian firms today. The GDR will supply metal products and marine equipment and will take delivery of, among other things, clothing, textile fabrics, leather goods and semi-luxury goods. [passage omitted]

Talyzin Delivers Speech

AU1403151489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Mar 89 p 2

[Speech by Nikolay Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in the Soviet pavilion at the Leipzig Fair on 12 March: "Socialism on German Soil Is Firm and Irreversible; Speech by Nikolay Talyzin"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Erich Honecker,
Dear Comrade Willi Stoph,
Dear comrades and friends,

Permit me first to thank you, the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the GDR Council of Ministers, for having invited a Soviet delegation to the Leipzig Spring Fair.

Permit me to personally convey most cordial greetings and best wishes to you, the SED Central Committee, the GDR Government, and the GDR people, on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers.

The Leipzig fair is taking place at a time when the GDR is preparing itself for the 40th anniversary of the founding of its socialist state.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said at the meeting with Comrade Erich Honecker in Moscow in September 1988: "We are pleased that the GDR is approaching this event with great achievements in all fields of social life and that socialism has been firmly and irreversibly established on German soil.

Great Achievements of the GDR Working People

The basis of this success is the working people's comprehensive, creative contribution. We were able to convince ourselves of this at the GDR national exhibition in Moscow from last September to October and today during our visit to the GDR exhibition at this fair.

The Leipzig fair reflects the deepening of cooperation between the countries of the socialist community of states and the consistent implementation of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 11th SED Congress in socialist construction.

Recently the countries of the community celebrated the 40th anniversary of the founding of CEMA. Undoubtedly, CEMA is playing an important role in the development of our countries' economies. The Leipzig fair confirms the successes achieved by the CEMA countries in their economic cooperation.

The Soviet Union traditionally participates in the Leipzig fair—the international exhibition of the achievements of scientific-technological progress. In the Soviet pavilion, above all, the scientific-technological developments of our scientists, engineers, and designers in the field of mechanical engineering are demonstrated.

We hope that during your short visit to the pavilion you have gotten an idea of the directions of technical development and the possibilities of Soviet mechanical engineering.

Comrades, the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference worked out a comprehensive program for the revolutionary innovation of Soviet society and determined the foundations of economic reform and the democratization of social life.

Today restructuring is shaping our life and its main features. The Soviet people link their future to it. The restructuring of our country's economy also positively influences our foreign trade relations.

The decisions that have been made in the field of foreign trade relations are based on the priorities of the overall consolidation of friendship and cooperation. The character of relations between the Soviet Union and the GDR fills us with deep satisfaction. They are relations of firm friendship and international solidarity, which are characterized by concurrent views on the principal questions of foreign policy and socialist construction. The firm and unshakable alliance between the CPSU and the SED forms the basis of our relations.

Comprehensive Work in Coordinating Plans

This January, the bilateral concept for the development of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the USSR and the GDR up to the year 2000 was signed. It will help us solve the strategic tasks facing our countries' economies, implement the progressive structural changes in industry, and further perfect the division of labor between the USSR and the GDR.

Comprehensive work on coordinating plans for developing our countries' economies in the upcoming 5-year plan is actively under way. For the first time this work is being done with the broad participation of enterprises and organizations of the two countries. Direct relations between enterprises and cooperation relations are developing, especially in mechanical engineering.

Work on the creation of joint ventures is continuing. The agreement on a joint enterprise for the production of software for office and personal computers and computer workstations will be signed at this fair.

Dear comrades,

The Soviet Union and the GDR are closely cooperating in international affairs and are trying to achieve an improvement in the world political climate.

Joint Contribution to Confidence-Building in Europe

The decisions of the USSR, the GDR, and the other Warsaw Pact states on reducing their troops, weapons, and military expenditures and on the withdrawal of parts of the Soviet troops from the GDR, the CSSR, and the Hungarian People's Republic are an important contribution to mutual confidence building in Europe. These measures testify to the genuine interest of the socialist countries in reducing military confrontation in Europe and in achieving concrete results in the reduction of troops and conventional weapons.

The world is becoming safer. The new approach to questions of developing civilization, the need expressed so convincingly by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech to the United Nations in New York on 7 December last year, is asserting itself.

However, constant efforts are necessary in order to ensure that the era of real disarmament, into which mankind has entered with the increasingly prevailing new thinking, is not terminated halfway.

We highly value the GDR's contribution to implementing a coordinated foreign political course of the socialist community of states and to solving the most important problems of international security.

Permit me to wish you, dear Comrade Erich Honecker, you, dear Comrade Willi Stoph, all German comrades who are present, and the GDR people successes in socialist construction, peace, and well-being. May the unity and the unswerving friendship between our peoples and betwee the CPSU and SED continue to grow.

Soviet Envoy on Cooperation

LD1303230189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2120 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Soviet Ambassador Vyacheslav Kochemasov stressed the great value of the comprehensive development of the cooperation between the USSR and the GDR today in Berlin. During a dinner which he gave in honor of the Soviet Government delegation to the Leipzig Spring Fair, headed by Nikolay Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, the ambassador acknowledged the GDR's successes in the economic and scientific-technological spheres, as they were being graphically demonstrated at the fair.

Machines and installations with the stamp USSR-GDR have been of special interest there. In this connection Kochemasov referred to the joint efforts in economy, science, and technology, which received a strong impetus through the meeting of Mikhail Gorbachev and Erich Honecker in September 1988 in Moscow.

Participants in the dinner on the GDR side were members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo; Guenter Mittag and Guenter Kleiber; Werner Jarowinsky, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; and other ministers and personalities. On the Soviet side the machine-tool ministers Nikolay Panichev and Mikhail Shkabardnya were present, as well as other members of the USSR Government delegation at the Leipzig Spring Fair.

Chinese Leaders Greet Fair

AU1403111189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Mar 89 p 1

[Text] Leipzig—Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee; Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee; and Yang Shangkun, president of the PRC; have sent cordial greetings to the Leipzig Spring Fair. The greetings message was conveyed by Ambassador Zhang Dake during the visit by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, and other members of the GDR party and state leadership to the Chinese collective exhibition. It can be stated with pleasure that the relations of friendship and cooperation between China and the GDR are being constantly developed. Because the two countries' economic and trade relations are good and there is a large potential for economic cooperation, the Chinese exhibition is regarded as a steppingstone for strengthening the friendly cooperation between the two states, it was stated.

Papers Report Meetings at Fair

AU1503122089

[Editorial Report] The East Berlin papers NEUE ZEIT and NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 13 and 14 March respectively carry a number of reports, ranging from 200 to 350 words, recording meetings between GDR officials and bloc, Western, and other officials at the Leipzig Spring Fair.

NEUE ZEIT on 13 March on page 2 carries a 350-word report on the meeting between Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and his Polish counterpart, Janusz Patorski, the meeting between GDR Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil and Yevgeniy Osadchuk, USSR deputy minister of foreign economic relations, and the meeting between Gerhard Beil and Krustyu Popov, Bulgarian deputy minister of foreign economic relations, on 11 March.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on 14 March on pages 1 and 3 carries eight reports, ranging from 100 to 350 words, on meetings of GDR officials with foreign officials at the Leipzig Fair on 13 March.

The first (200 words) reports the meeting between Dr Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister of environmental protection and water conservancy, and PRC Deputy Construction Minister Gan Zhijian. They are reported as having discussed "possibilities of developing bilateral relations in accordance with the protocol on scientific-technological cooperation in the supply of drinking water and sewage treatment."

The second report (200 words) deals with the meeting between GDR Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil and Ethiopian Foreign Trade Minister Tadesse Gebre-Kidan. They reportedly signed a trade protocol for 1989.

The third (150 words) records the meeting between Foreign Trade Minister Beil and Saarland Economics Minister Hajo Hoffmann. It is stated that "Minister Hoffmann stressed the unrestricted interest of the Saarland economy in continuing and developing export and import relations with the GDR."

The fourth (350 words) reports the meeting between Claudio Aranzadi, Spanish minister of industry and energy, and Foreign Trade Minister Beil; Felix Meier, minister of electrical engineering and electronics; and Rudi Georgi, minister of construction of machine tools and processing machinery. In the meeting with Minister

Beil it was reportedly stated that "the exchange of goods and contacts between enterprises are increasing. The ministers discussed measures to further develop economic relations."

The fifth report (250 words) deals with the meeting between Rudi Georgi, minister of construction of machine tools and processing machinery, and Nikolay Panichev, USSR minister of machine tool and tool building industry. Reportedly, "the ministers agreed that it is important to increase the cooperation in science, technology, and production and to further develop the direct relations between the combines and enterprises today and in the future."

The sixth report (150 words) records the meeting between Hans-Joachim Boehme, minister of university and technical school affairs, and Northrhine-Westphalian Science and Education Minister Anke Brunn.

The seventh (120 words) reports the meetings between Albanian Foreign Trade Minister Shane Korbeci and Udo-Dieter Wange, minister of bezirk-administered industry and foodstuffs industry, and Ernst-Ulrich Grande, deputy minister of electrical engineering and electronics. Wange and Korbeci are reported as having "discussed further possibilities of economic cooperation on the basis of the level of the goods exchange between the two countries and the protocol agreed upon for 1989."

The eighth report (100 words) deals with the meeting between Kurt Fenske, GDR state secretary and first deputy foreign trade minister, and Alberto Rossi, state secretary in the Italian Foreign Trade Ministry. Reportedly, "State Secretary Rossi pointed out the increasing interest of Italian firms in the Leipzig Fairs.

FRG Businessman Comments on Trade With GDR
AU0903073989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Mar 89 p 6

[Werner Otto report on interview with Henner Geldmacher, chairman of the board of directors of the Krupp Lonrho company in Duesseldorf, FRG: "Business With the GDR Has Constantly Grown"—date not given]

[Excerpts] The Leipzig Fair quite rightly enjoys the reputation of being an attractive and open trade center. This statement was made by Henner Geldmacher, chairman of the board of directors of the Krupp Lonrho company, in its headquarters in Dusseldorf. [passage omitted]

Henner Geldmacher confirms that there have been talks between Krupp Lonrho and the GDR on new possibilities for extending business relations, and these talks will be continued in Leipzig. The Krupp manager explains his positive expectations by reference to his experiences in cooperating with the GDR up to now. What always mattered apart from the daily business was the aim for common long-term objectives in the supply of entire plants for the GDR, the sale of GDR products, and joint activities on third markets. [passage omitted]

This assessment is likely to be true for overall economic relations between the two German states, and the positive appraisal of these relations cannot be thwarted by the occasional griping, Henner Geldmacher noted. "We all know that economic relations have developed much more rapidly and solidly than some people were willing to assume a few years ago." The main reason for this is the reliability which is the main characteristic feature of both sides, Geldmacher said, adding that, considering this basis of mutual trust, what counted were not so much the short-term comparisons as the permanently increasing quality of trade relations. [passage omitted]

The demands on mutual economic relations that are currently being made under what are sometimes rapidly changing conditions require deeper technological-economic cooperation and more intensive contacts between executives, the chairman of the board of directors noted. In this context, he underlined the importance of the meeting between Erich Honecker and business representatives on the occasion of his official visit to the FRG. Those talks were easy, relaxed, and very personal. Such meetings help to establish extraordinary trust. "This trust has been achieved and will continue," the Krupp representative concluded. This is not least the reason why the visit of the chairman of the GDR State Council was invaluable. His special interest in economic issues gave rise to the impression that these are in good hands, which has a most stabilizing effect.

Henner Geldmacher paid tribute to the functioning cooperation between Krupp and the most diverse GDR enterprises. On the supply side, he pointed to Industrial Plant Imports (IAI), among other things, with which for instance the Jena South Heating Station was built. As far as purchases are concerned, Krupp cooperates closely with the metallurgy sector, Geldmacher said. There are also good relations with the machine tool building sector, the quality standard of which was praised by Henner Geldmacher. Several high-accuracy machines from the GDR operate in Krupp enterprises. These are special machine tools which have to meet high standards. "Each year when we plan our investments, we also enter into negotiations with machine-tool and tool enterprises. We would never buy machines for which we could not take responsibility toward our exacting customers."

FRG Economics Minister Praises Relations
AU1303150089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11-12 Mar 89 p 1

[Text] Cologne (ADN)—In the opinion of FRG Economics Minister Dr Helmut Haussmann, the economic relations between the FRG and the GDR remain an important and stabilizing element in the overall relations between the two German states. As Haussmann stated in the latest edition of the Cologne INDUSTRIE UND HANDELSREVUE, the federal government will continue to make its contribution to maintaining the balance of economic relations and to further extending trade. This trade has a special position as regards politics and the economy. Although price influences on the international oil and raw material markets have affected the trade between the two German states, it has a broad and solid basis which has stood the test for years, he stated. The overall economic relations are so well established that solid upward tendencies will be possible if appropriate efforts are made, Haussmann said.

FRG Paper Comments on GDR Economic Policy

AU0803153489 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 8 Mar 89 p 3

[Monika Zimmermann report: "Many Economic Calculations Are Frustrated by the GDR's Socialist Dogma; Cheap Bread and Expensive Cars; Subsidies Increasingly Criticized"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin—"The idea that the good Lord drafts the economic plans for us is wrong." Although this was rather thoughtlessly stated by Helmut Koziolek [director of the Socialist Economic Management Central Institute attached to the SED Central Committee], it shows at any rate that even a confirmed socialist mentions the good Lord in connection with the economy. In fact, in the GDR the plan sometimes appears to be something given by God, and doubting it would almost be blasphemy. Thus, one can (almost) talk about everything with Koziolek, but not about the basic foundation of his state's economic policy which, at least for Honecker's era, is firmly connected with the principle of the "unity of economic and social policy." This unity means, for example, that the state grants extensive subsidies for basic foodstuffs, instead of investing this money in modern capital resources and thus achieving higher productivity and finally more affluence.

The unity of economic and social policy—according to the primacy of distribution—is dogmatic. There may be many good calculations and considerations that show that earned revenue might be even more effectively used—however, if the structure of this unity were changed in this way, data and facts, which the GDR likes to use as arguments in other cases, would be of no use. The calculations by which they have been ascertained may be right, but nevertheless they are wrong—ideologically wrong.

A Letter From Greifswald

However, in a letter to the chairman of the State Council, 40 workers from the Greifswald nuclear power plant call for "complete ideological clarity," and ask whether the ideological damage that is done by building Intershops all over the country and establishing the Deutsche mark as the primary currency is not greater than the foreign currency gains. Moreover, the workers are complaining about the "insufficient efficiency of our national economy," which is demonstrated everyday by "insufficient process technology and poorly organized work" and leads to the "wasting of the social labor potential and large investment resources." At the same time, the staff is also insufficiently supplied with, in the first place, "high-quality consumer goods, second, the so-called '1,000 small things', and, third, foodstuffs, such as meat, sausages, dairy products, fruits, and vegetables," and "we know from our colleagues' acquaintances that this is not a specific problem of Greifswald. In contrast to this, our mass media constantly confront us with the successful implementation of our economic and social policy."

Of course, it is right and urgently necessary, Koziolek admits, to constantly examine the customary structure of subsidies and to consider the advantages and disadvantages of a price reform. Despite this, such a reform is not only subject to economic, but also to sociopolitical decisions, he says. And they have been made: in favor of a distribution of subsidies from which all benefit in the same way. This decision need not be valid forever, but certainly for the present, he states. Koziolek does not want to say for how long this present situation will last and what will cause the GDR to slaughter this holy cow, and he only states that the GDR is not interested in being praised for measures that have ruined other countries. It is the GDR's most important task to increase economic efficiency, while at the same time securing the unity of economic and social policy, he states. [passage omitted]

Although Koziolek does not explicitly say that any change in prices is a major political issue, he means it because at the very beginning of all his reflections he comes to the conclusion that changes in the structure of prices and subsidies are not possible without major changes in social policy. He does not consider it useful to cut subsidies, which benefit all people, and to replace them by individually supporting the needy. Moreover, he speaks out against advice from "countries that have completely different problems as regards subsidies." "However, you can believe me when I say that we discuss from morning till evening how we can achieve even greater economic growth," Koziolek says.

The Importance of the Market

Although he has to admit that a 4-percent economic growth on which all economic calculations and hopes of the GDR are based is by no means certain, the overall concept is not endangered. The solution is greater qualification, not a change in the system. However, the GDR is not at all rigid, it has long been known that the market is important, for example, for realizing needs and for effective sales, but not as an instrument to control the overall economic and, thus, social development, he says.

Only the process of planned economy is feasible for the GDR. On the other hand, the GDR has proven its flexibility by increasingly supporting direct responsibility and the earning of revenue by the enterprises and combines themselves, he states. The number of independently managed combines—16 at present—will be continuously increased.

Not only is Koziolek the director of the Central Institute but he is also a member of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the Soviet-GDR Economic Commission, and foreign member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. When Gorbachev was in the GDR, he also had a talk with Koziolek. When asked who learned more from whom, the director of the institute did not want to answer. However, he does not evade the core of the question and even repeatedly mentions "perestroyka": No responsible person in the GDR has ever stated that the GDR cannot learn anything from perestroyka. On the contrary, one is highly in favor of perestroyka because the basic idea of more efficiency, while supplying the population is simultaneously improved, is important. However, perestroyka has to be useful, and many things that are useful for the Soviet Union are not or, properly speaking, not any longer useful for the GDR, he states.

"We have fought many joint battles with the Soviet Union," Koziolek says, but now the GDR is getting along well with perfecting what already exists and does not need any reforms.

All this sounds as if he were satisfied and pleased. No, he is not satisfied with the achievements, the 61-year old man contradicts. "If I were satisfied, I would have to retire." And, as is well-known, the GDR leading cadres do not consider retirement this early.

NATO Receives Criticism for Attitude, Programs

NATO Skeptical in Vienna

AU1003132589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Mar 89 p 2

["He." commentary: "Dissonance Surrounding Vienna Talks"]

[Text] Precisely on Monday [6 March] this week, when the foreign ministers' meeting of the 35 CSCE states opened in Vienna, which launched talks between NATO and Warsaw Pact on the reduction of conventional armed forces and weaponry in Europe, as well as on further confidence and security-building measures, precisely on this day officials and military officials who are opposed to detente—and for whom disarmament is a specter—made efforts to obstruct the process that has been initiated.

NATO Secretary General Woerner published an article in the WALL STREET JOURNAL claiming that NATO lacks a disarmament concept. Instead of this he proposes: "In my view, NATO does not need a new structure." "NATO's determination in the issue of military deterrence" has proved itself, he stresses. That means we are back to the doctrine of deterrence which is based on the hackneyed lie about the threat, and which is a truly aggressive doctrine that provides for a first nuclear strike.

Completely ignoring the start of the Vienna talks and the unilateral disarmament measures of the Warsaw Pact states, Defense Minister Scholz also resorts to the lie about the threat. In an article published by SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG he stated that one still has to proceed "from the superpower Soviet Union's claim to hegemony and consequently its excessive, primarily conventional military superiority in Europe."

Springer's [publishing house] DIE WELT published statements by "defense expert" Ruehl, who shamelessly distorts facts: "Even after reaching an agreement, as desired by the West"—to put it correctly one would have to say as desired by East and West in the spirit of eliminating disparities, of further reducing the lower ceilings, and of structural incapability to attack—"the Soviet Union would continue to be by far the greatest military power in Europe." The West should bear this in mind during future talks, Ruehl suggests. This means continuing the arms race instead of disarmament, in both the conventional and nuclear spheres.

By resorting to old thought patterns, NATO officials extend their skepticism and dissonance to the negotiations in Vienna. It is true that we, too, do not believe that the negotiations will proceed without friction and that results will be achieved quickly. However, our attitude is different. The GDR foreign minister mentioned the preconditions for finding acceptable and viable answers to the question of conventional disarmament: "The starting conditions are good. The socialist states have done their share. Now the other side is requested to show something similar because, in the end, effective disarmament can only be realized if both sides want it and carry it out."

Strategic Concept Condemned

AU0603125089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Mar 89 p 2

["r.e." commentary: "What Does Galvin Want With FOFA?"]

[Text] Prior to the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces, security and confidence-building measures, the West is advocating FOFA (Follow-On Forces Attack). What is FOFA? Let us consult an expert for the explanation of the term, namely U.S. General Galvin, NATO commander in chief in Europe. He published a letter in the latest edition of EUROPAEISCHE WEHRKUNDE [European Defense Studies] with the pithy title "Eye, Mind, and Fist for FOFA."

General Galvin praises FOFA as a strategic concept, on the basis of which "all the West's military capabilities will be improved by stressing the third dimension in combat." "The first sphere are the target acquisition systems," the general explains. "They are the eyes with which NATO can detect the enemy's movements in depth. Within the second sphere, an 'information gathering center'—the mind of the enterprise—determines the target for the setting of priorities by the leadership and quickly passes on the corresponding information to the third sphere of the weapons system—the 'fist'." As examples of systems with FOFA capability, Galvin mentions modern aircraft, improved ammunition, and multiple rocket systems, as have already been introduced or are intended to be introduced shortly by NATO.

Galvin emphasizes that NATO needs FOFA because "the Warsaw Pact's attack options remain unchanged." Of course, the general knows the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact, and is therefore aware that this simply is not true. However, he needs the lie about a threat to conceal the fact that FOFA is a NATO concept for attacking socialist countries.

Conventional disarmament and confidence-building will be discussed in Vienna. The situation is really paradoxical: The Warsaw Pact has initiated unilateral disarmament, and NATO is beginning unilateral armament and increasing the threat to the Warsaw Pact states.

In addition to that, it is clear that such a situation cannot continue to exist forever. To bring about a change for the better through a radical reduction of military confrontation in Europe, in the interest of security and of everybody, will be the task of the Vienna talks. In the interest of peaceful coexistence, all peoples on our continent will see to it that the negotiations yield the desired results, and that they are conducted in a constructive manner—by both sides.

Chemical Warfare Proposal Scored

AU0903112689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Mar 89 p 2

["Television commentary" by Karl-Eduard von Schnitzler: "Master of Manipulation"]

[Text] On the wonderful blue Danube, the new U.S. secretary of state has allegedly made a surprise proposal: The United States wants to withdraw its chemical weapons from the FRG very shortly. This is what Western media have been reporting since the alleged announcement was made.

Unfortunately, this good news is belied by the fact that Mr Baker never made this specific announcement. He stated that he was pleased "to be able to make the announcment that President Bush is currently examining whether..."!

The "announcement of an examination" of the sensational contribution to worldwide disarmament... Also, Mr Baker did not forget to refurbish an old hat, calling for the "elimination of the Wall." The only thing that was missing was the proclamation: "I am a Wiener."

The list of things that the electronic media in the free, democratic, and pluralistic West chose not to report is much longer. For one thing, the United States—probably—wants to eliminate poison shells from the FRG which are so old and rusty and destroyed by corrosion that they threaten to poison the environment. Instead of those shells, modern and efficient new missiles are to be deployed—binary weapons of mass destruction, if necessary. In addition to that, the media's love of truth did not go as far as reporting on the speech by the first speaker in Vienna, GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, who stated: "It remains of utmost urgency to banish chemical weapons from military arsenals...and to conclude a convention on the banning of chemical weapons." The GDR foreign minister's speech was not mentioned by the media at all. They did not report either that Foreign Minister Shevardnadze explicitly approved Oskar Fischer's speech.

The media did not contain a single word about the article by the same foreign minister, which was published in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on 10 January and which stated that the GDR does not possess chemical weapons, that it does not intend to develop such weapons, and that other states have not deployed a single chemical weapon on our territory.

There was no mention of the joint proposal of the GDR and CSSR and a similar proposal submitted by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany to create a chemical-weapon-free zone in Europe.

The masters of manipulation also failed to notice that the proposal for a worldwide ban on chemical weapons and the setting up of a chemical-weapon-free zone in Europe has been on the desk of the chancellor in Bonn since the beginning of 1987. Nor did they consider it worth reporting that Erich Honecker reiterated this proposal during his talks with Kohl in September 1987.

All these things are being ignored by the FRG's electronic media. What is given broad attention are reports about the U.S. withdrawal and calls on the Soviet Union to eliminate its chemical weapons in the GDR as well. Against his better judgement, Chancellor Kohl joins in the chorus.

This is really a masterpiece of manipulation, which confirms the necessity of efforts to "uncover and expose intellectual aggression," as Foreign Minister Fischer put it in his speech.

Szuros Addresses 1848 Anniversary Meeting

LD1403230189 Budapest MTI in English 2019 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 14 (MTI)—As reported, in commemoration of the Hungarian revolution and war of independence of 1848, the Hungarian National Assembly held an anniversary session on Tuesday with the attendance of MPs, head and members of the government and leaders of national authorities, senior political and public personalities, the heads of the diplomatic missions and representatives of the new organizations. Seated in the Presidium was Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, and officials of the National Assembly.

After the national anthem, the MPs were greeted by Deputy Speaker Maria Jakab. Speaker Matyas Szuros delivered a speech.

"This revolution was an event of our past which held the double promise of catching up with the more advanced part of Europe of that time, and independence. 1848-49 is the common heritage of the present-day generations," Mr Szuros said. "It has been proved that progress, to which the fate of the country has always been linked since the rule of St. Stephen, is universal and indivisible. As at present, our fate was then also associated with the cause of universal progress. The freedom ideal of 1848 is not an abstract concept or empty rhetoric, but a manifesto of 12 points which produced a sweeping effect by formulating the deepfelt desires of the nation. The organizing forces had the support of the overwhelming majority of the people.

"In 1848 the revolution proved capable of overcoming extremities jeopardizing the coordination of interests. Cohesion split along the nationality issue, but the genuine possibilities concealed in the revolution were clearly shown in the nationality acts of 1849, the most progressive law decrees on the equality of peoples in Europe of that time. Kossuth's Danube confederation plan offered a chance for central Europe not to become stocks for the minority nations. 1848 was part of the European revolutionary process characterized and driven by the peoples' national aspiration and wish of independence."

Speaking about the present country-building tasks, Mr Szuros pointed out, "we have a favourable external background for our endeavours. Hungary is now again in the main current of progress. There are opportunities to work usefully and in a balanced way for our own headway and the fruitful rapprochement of different civilizational circles. The main task of the present generations to do their utmost, with a sound sense of national responsibility, to put an end to the series of national catastrophes and drive the nation on to a course which is the direct continuation of the road opened in 1848 and the unfolding of all the great ambitions for the people. Under the decision of our body, the Ides of March can be celebrated freely.

"The 'House of the Country', once again the depository of people's sovereignty, should become a ground of important decisions and actions. By blocking the way of impotence and despair, it would show society an example to be followed. The fierce debates should always serve the benefit of the entire nation and narrow-minded party clashes should be prevented so that parliament could continue to symbolize the unification of forces," Mr Szuros said.

Following, the MPs and invited guests paid tribute in front of the state flag raised amid military honours at Lajos Kossuth Square. Concluding the anniversary session, Matyas Szuros and Deputy Speakers Maria Jakab and Lajos Horvath laid a wreath on the foot of the Kossuth statue.

Miklos Nemeth Interview Prior to Moscow Visit

AU0803094589 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Mar 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Premier Miklos Nemeth by correspondent Dezso Pinter: "Miklos Nemeth: The Government Takes Dialogue Seriously—Constitutionalism in the Economy Too—An Action Program To Be Concluded by the Middle of This Year—Further Personnel Changes To Be Expected"—on 1 March, place not given]

[Text] Miklos Nemeth, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, gave an interview to MAGYAR HIRLAP on 1 March.

[Pinter] At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, you will leave late on Thursday afternoon for a working visit to Moscow. What is the program and what is the aim of the trip?

[Nemeth] The exact detailed program has not yet been worked out. However, what is certain is that I will have the opportunity to meet with Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov on several occasions, and I will probably be received by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev too. A short meeting with the representatives of the Hungarian colony in Moscow is also on my agenda.

The main goal of my working visit is to mutually inform each other about the domestic situation in our countries and about issues of cooperation between our two states. Economic policy and economic relations will play a special role in the meetings, but we will also discuss some topical international political issues and the subject of CEMA cooperation. I would like to also make use of this opportunity to inform my hosts about our CEMA reform concepts. The policy of opening up to the world economy requires us to prepare a radical CEMA reform. Our goal is to develop a market economy in Hungary; time is extremely pressing. The demand to improve our domestic market situation is pressing, and we should also develop long-term contacts with the developed capitalist countries; nor can we disregard the fact that the level of our integration, the means at our disposal, and the degree of development of the CEMA member countries are all extremely varied. Due to all these facts, it is essential that we coordinate our positions in order to make our measures efficient.

[Pinter] About the details—what are the main questions on which you would definitely like to get an answer in Moscow?

[Nemeth] How they interpret our reform processes in the Soviet Union is, by all means, one of these questions. Our mutual cooperation also causes urgent problems that need a decision as soon as possible. These problems have a long-term effect on Hungarian agriculture and the various industrial sectors, but there are also some individual questions open in connection with our cooperation for 1989-90, and it would be desirable to talk about these too. For example, how to counterbalance, or reduce the developing Hungarian trade surplus with Soviet surplus exports, and new elements would also have a role here, to replace the current traditional concepts. I can also give examples from the agricultural sector. Hungary has certain comparative advantages and surplus goods, and, at the same time, there is a shortage of such goods in the Soviet Union. However, these are strongly subsidized goods in Hungary, and thus, we also have to consider the Hungarian internal financial conditions when setting their prices. We could make our cooperation more efficient within a foreseeable period of time and we could facilitate the creation of conditions for development and economic growth in both countries by developing and strengthening the contacts between our enterprises and acknowledging the actual market conditions. We must sincerely declare that, under the conditions of the current system, mutual disadvantages, rather than mutual advantages, are reflected in the relations between individual CEMA member countries.

[Pinter] In some countries, analytical studies are drawn up on the first 100 days in office of leading politicians and newly elected premiers. You have been in office since 24 November 1988, so the 100 days will soon be up. Have you already prepared some sort of account?

[Nemeth] A period of 100 days is a long time for society, but a short one for the premier. The path on which the government has to advance in facing the accumulated tensions and simultaneously trying to move away from the impasse is a narrow one. Ever since my appointment as premier, I have been trying to make sure that maintaining the ability of the government to function and the everyday tasks do not divert our attention from the assertion of our reform policy and that the government start on the road of development with a firm guideline and also set out a clear path to achieve this goal. The action program that we would like to put together by the middle of this year is currently taking shape.

It has become clear that a government political strategy is facilitating an economic and social transition for a change in the model of socialism. The organization of political forces capable of ensuring an orderly transition has begun. The government is developing its political basis in the direction of a reform center equally present in the society, the parliament, the MSZMP, the public and mass organizations, and in the alternative political organizations.

If you ask me about my first 100 days in office, I can mention as an achievement that, in this time, we succeeded in bringing up the idea of an action program and we succeeded in having it accepted by the responsible representatives of science and the state administration. I consider it essential to organize the government activity around this reform center. The government wants to rely on forces and strata that are committed to and believe in the reform that is currently taking shape. We have to prove that there are those who will benefit from this program, and, at the same time, we also have to consider the losers; therefore, the program also contains the demand to work out a comprehensive social policy concept. It is essential that the changes should occur by restructuring the economy and by gradually curbing and eliminating the factors and causes of inflation; the government should display an enterprising and enterprise-promoting attitude by developing neutral conditions concerning the various sectors and competition.

Of course, accelerating ventures demands a simultaneous assertion of responsibility for the welfare system and a harmony between economic and political reforms, as well as an autonomous and active role played by social policy, primarily focusing on an educational policy that contains qualitative goals and on intellectual and moral renewal.

The program makes it inevitable to face the basic issues of ownership reform; this also urges us to develop, as soon as possible, the requirements of constitutionalism not only in politics but also in the economy. By this I mean that laws should regulate an even greater proportion of the economic conditions, and an open and broad social debate should be carried out about the draft bills, so that their advantages and disadvantages become quite obvious. Interests should confront each other and the National Assembly should be the supreme trustee of the people's sovereignty, a forum where final versions emerge on the basis of compromise decisions. I am convinced that, if we advance in this direction and increasingly regulate the economic conditions by means of laws, the regulators will become less unpredictable. Thus, we will be able to ease the uncertainty and lack of confidence that currently prevail between the government and the enterprises, and between the government and the population. We can expect no results in this areas unless we improve the effectiveness of our government activity and its organizational structure. Because they require thorough preparation, there will be no more structural changes in the government system of economic management this year, but we are working on reforming the functional economic management because it has to be adjusted to the conditions of market economy, and this is also true of the budget, planning, and the management of the central bank. The regulation of competition in Hungary is inadequate today. People often confuse this with the issue of market supervision and market regulation. Although these activities still maintain their function, we also have to create a competition law and competition regulation, and an adequate organization too.

[Pinter] The position of the MSZMP Central Committee adopted in February seems to confirm all this, a position that proposes that the government should accelerate the formulation of our economic strategy by mobilizing the country's intellectual capacities. What unity is there between the Central Committee and the Politburo concerning the basic issues of this economic strategy?

[Nemeth] A tough debate was under way between us and also in the society concerning the correct proportion of political and economic reforms. Economic reform has been in the forefront in Hungary for many years, and, in fact, this was the only area in which we took considerable steps. This has changed since May 1988, and preparations for the reform of our political institutions are advancing firmly. Some elements of this political reform are much more advanced now than the economic reform. This leads to two different answers: either to slow down the reform of political institutions by adjusting it to the economic reform, or starting from the important requirement that the two be related to each other, could we not accelerate certain steps in the economy too, and thus ensure harmony? This second alternative received support and a majority both in the Central Committee and in the Politburo. Comprehensive preparatory work covering all the areas of the economic mechanism is currently under way under the leadership of Rezso Nyers, and some proposals have already been finalized, like the concept of opening up to the world economy, including the concept concerning the reform of CEMA. There are also other examples: The task of outlining a 3-year economic policy program is under way under the leadership of Ivan T. Berend, so I think that there is no argument on basic issues concerning the direction, but, in politics, the devil always hides in the details.

[Pinter] Making a democratic transition to lead to the creation of a new socialist model, including the introduction of a multiparty system, is one of the major tasks of the coming period. How will all this appear in the government activity?

[Nemeth] Interests appear differently in a pluralistic society. It is good that they appear and confront each other. Obviously, we will have to support and acknowledge the establishment of interests and their expression. An essential condition is that this development should not turn into rancor and selfish struggle, but should serve the interests of the whole country and progress.

The MSZMP, the government, the alternative movements, and the emerging parties all have a great responsibility. We should accept the situation of the country and find the program points we agree upon which we can start to implement. In fact, work on this started after the MSZMP Central Committee session of 10-11 February, and we are still at the very beginning. Obviously, the period of transition and its political planning and implementation will be a rather difficult task. We must know who is facing the society and with what program, and we do not yet see this clearly. The MSZMP is currently formulating its own short-term program concerning this period of transition and its political schedule. Obviously, we also have to be aware of the programs of the other parties and alternative organizations. It is desirable to develop joint tasks acceptable to all the participants by means of bilateral and multilateral negotiations. Once this is achieved, we should develop ways of exercising power and sharing responsibility, and of course also within the government. Those who can take a share of the government responsibility should be given opportunities. Because we are not yet at that stage, I cannot come up with specific proposals. I think that a coalition-type government will be an inevitable and natural step.

[Pinter] Yes, that is clear, but what will happen until then?

[Nemeth] Until then the government will have to carry out the patient and difficult work of considering the country's fate and future and serving the reform policy. It will also have to try to obtain the support of increasingly broad strata and groups of society. Essentially, there is no alternative to creating a democratic constitutional state, establishing a market economy, and asserting this constitutionalism not only in political institutions but also in the economy. In other words, there is no alternative to the reform program for either the government or the emerging parties and alternative organizations. We are relying in a much wider sense than in the past on the proposals of scientific workshops in preparing the reform activities under way in the various government workshops. We are conducting bilateral and multilateral dialogues with the alternative organizations to learn their opinions and to consider their proposals and observations. We will renew the government's advisory body in the near future, and we count on the participation of nonparty members, prestigious scientists, and young experts in this body. We also clearly declare that we will try to come to an agreement on the platform of the reform policy. We want to make it clear that this government is serious about dialogue, agreement, and in guiding the processes in the direction of a coalition.

[Pinter] This puts great responsibility not only on the head of the government but also on its members. In your opinion, to what extent is the current government's composition suitable for implementing the current and future tasks?

[Nemeth] When I was elected head of government, I was asked an open question at the parliament session about my intentions concerning the composition of the government. Would it not be better to form a new government and give the premier an opportunity to carry out his work with his own staff? At the time, I asked for a few months because I like to get acquainted with my colleagues in direct working relations and evaluate their qualities and mistakes, and, of course, they should also acquaint themselves with me. A new man is leading an amalgamated ministry, and a new chairman will lead the Price Office in a few days. It is no secret that I intend to initiate further personnel changes in the coming months. I think that we need a more uniform government in terms of its thinking, guidance, and in its concepts. I would not like to anticipate events, nor do I want to send messages through MAGYAR HIRLAP, because that is not a civilized way of doing things. On the basis of the experiences of our joint activity to date, I definitely consider it necessary to institute changes. It is important to have reform-oriented people with a great capacity for work in the government during this accelerated period and in this feverish Hungarian public life. At the moment, we often waste time trying to convince each other of our being right—often quite inefficiently—and this does not benefit the aforementioned strategy. Thus, the government is lost in details and its prestige will also be rather low among society. I would like to change this as soon as possible.

[Pinter] Because you mentioned that you did not now want to discuss people, I will ask whether we can count on a major government reshuffle.

[Nemeth] If the question refers to the number of people or ministries affected by the planned changes, then I cannot yet tell you whether there are two, three, four, or perhaps six people or ministries in question. There could be one or six. We have to examine a lot of factors, and this requires further coordination and further consideration on my part. Let me mention only one viewpoint: There is now a political competition under way. If the views confront each other and all this takes place openly, before the public eye, then new criteria will emerge here concerning the public role, among other things. These viewpoints were not so important earlier, but now they have become extremely important.

Views Results of Moscow Talks

AU1403154289 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Mar 89 p 3

[Interview with Premier Miklos Nemeth by correspondent Zsuzsa Gal on board the aircraft returning from Moscow to Budapest, on 3 March: "We Will Move Our Economic Relations From Their Standstill"]

[Text] [Gal] What motivated your talks with the CPSU general secretary and the Soviet premier?

[Nemeth] We met during a rather difficult domestic policy and economic situation, and we had little time to precisely determine our tasks. Therefore, we decided to follow this up in the course of this year. Comrade Ryzhkov invited me to pay an official visit during which we would carry out the work that would move our economic cooperation away from its standstill.

[Gal] Away from a standstill? This expression has not been used before.

[Nemeth] I use this expression because we agreed at the earlier high-level meetings to strive to balance our trade and to avoid a decrease in our turnover. Unfortunately, we failed in this in 1988 and in 1989, and so I am talking about a standstill. The current trend, namely the decrease in the exchange of goods, benefits neither of the two countries.

[Gal] What causes this problem in our cooperation?

[Nemeth] Many things are to be blamed for this, among others, the current CEMA mechanism, certain forms of bilateral relations, the lack of goods and financial resources, unrealistic prices, and often the fact that we are conducting principled debates on exchange rates. We have not recognized the fact that in agriculture, for example, we will have to invest a lot just to maintain the current level of production. Taking all these things into consideration, we are facing the threat of disintegration, rather than an integration.

[Gal] How could we move away from this standstill?

[Nemeth] In his latest speech in Kiev, Comrade Gorbachev already formulated the new principles to be applied in today's circumstances. The essential thing is to have the courage to face up to past mistakes. In order to be able to correctly formulate our future direction, we have to call past mistakes by their proper name. In my talks with both Comrades Gorbachev and Ryzhkov, I was encouraged to work out and submit our proposals as soon as possible, as well as to mutually provide an impetus to the reform processes. It is impossible to wait until everyone agrees with everyone else, because if we do, we will advance extremely slowly and we will also have to take into account many missed opportunities and lost profits. My recent talks have clearly encouraged me and all the other officials engaged in the reform, as well as people working in responsible government positions.

[Gal] Before you met with Comrade Gorbachev, I asked his opinion of Hungary's domestic policy situation, with particular emphasis on the various parties emerging in Hungary. Was this subject further pursued during the talks?

[Nemeth] Yes, it was. Comrade Gorbachev stressed that it should be quite natural for individual countries to apply a variety of solutions in building socialism. We can no longer apply the same pattern to all. This is true of the political institutions and the economic order alike. Gorbachev stressed that the historical traditions of individual countries play a great role in each country's choice of solutions to solve the prevailing tensions in the course of building a socialist society with a human face. I consider this to be an extremely important declaration. According to Comrade Ryzhkov, a collective egotism has prevailed for many decades.

[Gal] What does that mean?

[Nemeth] He spoke about the collective egotism of a group of leaders who lost contact with the people. Both leaders, but Comrade Gorbachev in particular, stressed the importance of asserting various interests from the viewpoint of social progress. The current practice of the one-party system did not allow democracy to function and flourish. The essential thing—they said—is for democracy to function, and whether it should function under the circumstances of a one-party or a multiparty system can be decided only by taking into consideration the specific national and historical conditions of a given country. Comrade Gorbachev added that they supported pluralism but that they envisaged the development of such a pluralism under the conditions of a one-party system. At the same time, Comrade Gorbachev said that we should not debate this issue. Practice will tell which solution is more successful. He also said that both the party and the government should be responsible for solutions and answers, primarily to their own people. Comrade Gorbachev also stressed that we should surround democracy with legal institutions. Unfortunately, 70 years have not been enough to create and operate a real socialist democracy. People viewed the processes from the sidelines and lost interest; it is our common responsibility to develop a human-oriented democratic socialism with a human face and one able to face the public with responsibility. I consider this to be an extremely important message.

[Gal] What is the reaction of the Soviet leadership to the ownership reform currently being prepared in Hungary?

[Nemeth] We failed to create the feeling and awareness of ownership over 70 years. I spoke about our ownership reform and the variety of possible solutions. Comrade Gorbachev followed my presentation with interest; our agricultural policy concepts, in particular, caught his attention. His questions also concerned the past, back to the beginning of collectivization, and then followed the changes: how we moved from the obligatory delivery of produce to the state to contractual relations; how the household plots turned into an organic part of the collective farming; and the role we intend to give cooperative property.

[Gal] In Hungary, the reform of the political institution has now become considerably separated from the economic reform. Did you exchange views on this problem?

[Nemeth] It is impossible to create a steady and perfect harmony, but Comrade Gorbachev also thinks that the two should not be separated in the long run. It is easier to find out, promise, and debate courageous solutions within the reform of political institutions, while in the economy, opportunities are more decisive and solutions are more connected to each other. Comrade Gorbachev pointed out that it was impossible to eliminate all failures overnight. We should advance on the road of reforms by taking care not to cause a break between the economy and politics.

[Gal] What is your impression of the Soviet reform policy guidelines?

[Nemeth] Comrade Gorbachev discussed their own reform efforts and the fact that solving the accumulated problems and easing the tensions seem to be much more difficult than they had originally thought. There is a need for enough patience and firmness in both countries. We have to advance on this road, and we know that there is no other alternative. There is much similarity in the current domestic policy conditions of the two countries, and also in the fact that, in terms of the basic principles, there is unity in both the leadership and, to a great extent, also in society. However, there is a debate over how to solve the tasks.

[Gal] Hungary seems to be too greatly engaged in analyzing the past.

[Nemeth] Without this, we cannot progress, so we have to get rid of the ballast of the past. However, evaluating the past should not divert our attention and our energy from solving present and future problems.

[Gal] We have given a new interpretation to the events of 1956. I presume this has not remained unnoticed by the Soviet leadership, either.

[Nemeth] Comrade Gorbachev said that our Central Committee meeting of 10-11 February was calm. He welcomed the fact that in evaluating the past, we found a solution on the basis of which we can develop a social consensus.

Rezso Nyers Interviewed on Party Unity

LD1103221189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 11 Mar 89

["Exclusive" interview with Rezso Nyers, minister of state and member of the MSZMP Politburo, by Akos Mester in the parliament building in Budapest; from the "168 Hours" program; date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] It was in the hallway of the parliament building that Akos Mester spoke to Rezso Nyers, whose speech on Tuesday [7 March] in the session chamber of the Central Committee aroused very great interest, particularly with his warning that reform communism does not mean that we should simply replace an earlier monolithic unity with another monolithic unity, and that anyone who departs one iota from this or thinks differently already has no place in reform communism. In this conversation, which is longer than usual, nearly 20 minutes long, party unity, a very important and very often misunderstood concept, is given a radically new type of interpretation, which will probably cause many people to react to it.

[Mester] Let me put the question to you outright: Is it perhaps not in the MSZMP's interest for the fundamentalist, conservative wing, which is incapable of following the political changes, to detach itself from it?

[Nyers] The center must consist of the tendency of those who seek reform, who elaborate reform, who put reform in the forefront, and of the tendency, alongside of them, of the real politicians [realpolitikusok iranyzata].

[Mester] Yes, but not even in the party, in the party leadership, is this the only characteristic viewpoint. There are also those who are anxious, who voice their concern, even in connection precisely with the constitution-creating concept, that the danger of a silent bourgeois restoration in fact exists here.

[Nyers] Well, look. Whoever casts doubt on the party's decision relating to the multiparty system, or who is anxious about this and does not support this policy, then that person does not belong in this center. So, first of all this center must come into being. With this, in my opinion, the MSZMP can and would be able to put up with its having an in-party opposition, which would not be dominated by responsibility for the accepted policy, and which would not fight for this policy but would rather criticize it while accepting party discipline. I can conceive of an in-party opposition even in the MSZMP.

[Mester] Now, as for this in-party opposition, would it, according to your conception, consist of people for whom even the political movement which has taken place so far, is too much, too liberal, who had gotten used to power and not a competitive situation?

[Nyers] It could consist of those who accept the resolution of the May [1988] party conference, and those who accept the reform policy being formed now but who are anxious and who are afraid of something, who are afraid of a political erosion. That would not mean that they could not remain members of the MSZMP. They must on no account be shut out, if, that is, they accept it.

[Mester] What you say is virtually a new kind of interpretation of party unity.

[Nyers] Absolutely, absolutely; it is a radically new kind of interpretation. This clarification appears within the party, as the tendencies openly express themselves, and a party opposition is also openly appearing; this actually strengthens the action of those committed to the reform policy.

[Mester] Yes, but my problem is that perhaps in that case the divisions within the party should be made much clearer before public opinion as well.

[Nyers] Yes, I agree with that. This is becoming clear, it can be made clear, and I think that within a certain time it will become clear to the party's public opinion, too. A significant part of party public opinion more than suspects the existence within the party of these conceptual divergences.

[Mester] So, in your view, will the party break up bit by bit due to differences in ideological outlook, or rather as a result of political confusion? This is not yet evident today.

[Nyers] Well, look, ideology will be one of the dividing lines. I think that an over-ideological way of thinking does not fit into today's reform policy. Today's reform policy has to deal with life's real problems; these are what it must resolve. There is now a need for a party movement that is in a certain sense deideologized, when we break away from numerous theses, numerous determinations, of an ideology that has proven to be mistaken, until such time that the formulation of a reform-communist ideology evolves in the party's intellectual sphere.

[Mester] Do you not believe we would get closer to the solution if we tried to find out who is currently leaving the MSZMP, and for what reason, and especially if we could learn where those who leave are heading?

[Nyers] As far as I know, such things are being examined in the party, and such things do have to be examined. In my opinion those who leave are doing so for various reasons. There are those who are leaving because of ideological disillusionment; there are those who in the present situation simply do not consider the party's policy to be sufficiently consistent, and who do not consider it sufficiently successful. So, real political and ideological considerations are equally important in this process. As to what are the proportions of these, that of course cannot be said precisely.

[Mester] On the other hand, it can be presumed that there are, or there will be, those who will pull away in the direction of the Social Democrats, those who will perhaps transfer allegiances. There are those who are already beginning to be very interested in the activity of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF]. There are those who would join the Ferenc Munnich Society [FMS] even if the FMS were to live and exist not within the party but instead were to break away from it, and so on and so forth. There are those who have simply become disillusioned with the MSZMP. I think that these are in the majority.

[Nyers] I also think that these are in the majority. These are the people who leave also for political, but partly for emotional reasons. This is because they stayed in the

MSZMP when the MSZMP was pursuing its mistaken policy, and they leave the MSZMP when it sets out onto the path of reforms. So, the emotional element is completely evident here.

[Mester] Yes, but it is getting ever more difficult to follow these things. For example, not so long ago you said, as if it were most natural and self-evident, that the MSZMP considers and holds itself to be virtually the inheritor of social democracy, as if it had always been this way, as if we did not remember that the MSZMP for a very very long time used to drill it into people that social democracy... if you had not called its former leaders—who are again today highly ranked politically, and who are already dead, who died in exile, perhaps—if you had not called them traitors to the working class. [sentence as heard] People do not forget.

[Nyers] Yes, well, I would nevertheless add that I have never said that between 1948 and 1956 the MDP [Hungarian Workers' Party] considered itself the inheritor of social democracy. I never said that; on the contrary, I maintained the opposite, and that is what I maintain today as well. Since 1956 the MSZMP has attempted to be the inheritor of the Social Democratic Party. Many old Social Democrats then came back into the MSZMP, and they even accepted official positions. [passage omitted]

[Mester] Excuse me, there was nothing else they could do, was there? There was just one party; it was only in that party that they could legalize themselves.

[Nyers] No, if you don't mind. They could have done something else. They should not have joined the party, as was done by others who, for example, are forming the Social Democratic Party today. So, they came back. There was an attempt here, during the Kadar era, to see to it that the nature of a united party should continue. I have to admit, and this is what I believe, that we were not really the inheritors of the Social Democratic movement, right up to the present. Sometime in the eighties we did become that, when we made the basic parts of the social democratic political philosophy our own.

[Mester] But as for the one-time Social Democrats, who after 1956 did not join the MSZMP, a good many of them considered as collaborators those who did join and moreover accepted leading functions in the party.

[Nyers] Yes, well, as long as this generation is alive, there will be this kind of confrontation, and it will remain a disputed issue. They have the right to do this. They have the right, and they have the grounds for it as well, in regard to what we have been saying, because the MDP—in other words, the united party in its first form, but I go further, even the MSZMP, the second form of the united party as well—was not liberal and was unjust to leading Social Democrats, former leading Social Democrats. I have to say that already around 1980 there began within the MSZMP a rehabilitation of social democracy, which was embodied also in such persons [words indistinct] who were real Social Democrats right through. Earlier they were anathema, and then we brought them back into the MSZMP.

[Mester] Yes, but when you say that former Social Democrats were treated in a manner lacking generosity you are, to put it mildly, loyal with this attitude. People, provided that they can follow political changes at all, can bear these well only if these bring personal consequences. So it is just not acceptable to say today that he who is a social democrat is a traitor to the workers and then tomorrow to say the opposite.

[Nyers] Yes, amid democratic circumstances such turncoat behavior is rarely possible. Changing one's stand once must be forgiven. In my view, to go down the road to Damascus once is not a dishonorable thing, but going up and down it is not tolerated by democracy, and such people fall by the wayside gradually; they are gotten rid of, perhaps even amid a personal tragedy, but they must be dropped from public life.

[Mester] We must say frankly that many of these people are present here in the National Assembly and that the present constitutional debate is about issues of power. Those who are disturbed by their presence say that this debate should take place when the political stratification, the practice of the distribution of power, is already clear.

[Nyers] The process of elaborating a constitution must help political stratification, political clearsightedness. Very few of those whose pasts include stains or black spots sit in this parliament, and they do not play a determining role.

[Mester] It was also said in the Central Committee session that it is very difficult to step into a pluralistic society while the people's trust is minimal.

[Nyers] Undoubtedly. This is process of enormous significance, a great national political development for which a kind of joining of forces and common determination are needed, and this can come about in the framework of the elaboration of a constitution. Our providing only a minimal scope, in the interest of the present and the future, to start enquiring into each others' past with an edge of being personal about it, is a part of this. This is because a very large proportion of the people in politics today are responsible through either participation or omission in one way or another for smaller or larger mistakes. If we were to take this as a point of departure, then we would be putting a brake on precisely that strength which is embodied in national unity and which could lead the country toward a multiparty democracy under which no economic deterioration would take place, economic problems would be resolved, and things would move forward.

The past must be cleared, but if the entire Hungarian political life started arguing retroactively about who said what and who did what, then very serious trouble would result.

[Mester] However, the small mistake must be distinquished from the big one, and, certainly, the mistake must be separated from the crime.

[Nyers] I agree; the mistake and the crime must be distinquished, the crime must be rejected, and their perpetrators must be ostracized; they must be excluded from public life. I also agree that small mistakes must be differentiated from big ones, but third, those people who have learned from their mistakes must be distinquished from those who stubbornly adhere to theirs. It is a big issue of Hungarian democracy that all those who have been able to learn and who have learned from history should receive a green light in politics.

[Mester] I agree with Gorbachev that we have nowhere to retreat; our last chance is to renew ourselves via a reform.

[Nyers] I agree, too. I think that it is a great, fateful issue for the nation, and that we can escape from this crisis situation via the road of reforms. What we are talking about is a many-year process until the model of a socialistic—not yet socialist—society arises, as our premier said. This is a long-term process which must be led, controlled, and directed in a professional manner by the administration, the Hungarian intelligentsia, and the would-be parties.

[Mester] The creation of real, true, and existing platform freedom is one of the preconditions of our starting along the road of reform; platforms within the party, too.

[Nyers] The currents I have spoken about are interrelated to these platforms. Whether we call these currents or platforms, they are still the same thing. The true unity is the one amid multifacetedness and multicoloredness, because it is this which provides opportunity for the true expression of interests. Our previous assumption that the desires, endeavors, and will of the entire society can at any one time be synthesized into one interest has proved an illusion. It cannot be done. It can only be a synthesis of interests, and this is what justifies the platforms and currents.

[Mester] Do you then think that the chariot of progress cannot turn back?

[Nyers] It cannot turn back; it can do other things, but it cannot reverse under any circumstances. However, it can still flip over.

Spokesman on Party Law, Economic Opening

LD1403215389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Interview with MSZMP spokesman Laszlo Major by reporter Pal Toth; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Presenter] A spokesman's briefing was held in Budapest after the session of the MSZMP Politburo. Pal Toth reports from the scene:

[Toth] Does Laszlo Major know of any European example of a ruling party creating its own competition? I ask this because the Politburo today discussed party law.

[Major] We do not find much precedent for this in European political history either, and in the history of the socialist world even less so.

[Toth] On the basis of today's discussions, on the basis of today's conversation, do you still hold to this?

[Major] The law on association was earlier drawn up as a framework law. A consequence of this is the party law, which regulates the parties' operation, their economic management, and other things that definitely require legal regulation in a multiparty system.

[Toth] Do you also submit yourselves to the audit office's occasional examinations as well?

[Major] Yes, our intention is that the law should prescribe the parties' financing in an extremely detailed manner and that the audit office, the audit office to be created, should also play a role in this. As for political and other matters, the constitutional court, the constitutional court to be created, will decide on these.

[Toth] So does the MSZMP basically consider itself to be one of the parties that are expected to be formed?

[Major] Yes. The MSZMP does not ask any kind of prerogative or privilege for itself. It believes that fair play and a clean competitive situation demand that it be one of the forces in Hungarian political life.

[Toth] I believe that stand is also connected with the fact that Gyorgy Fejti has had nearly 2 weeks of talks with the alternative organizations—to be more precise, the MSZMP delegation did this.

[Major] There was agreement with the organizations on numerous points. Only the Alliance of Free Democrats took a stand of constructive opposition. The majority likewise expressed their agreement that there will be a need for a kind of interest-coordinating organ in the future.

[Toth] So, can a new round of talks now begin?

[Major] The KISZ is preparing for its next congress in April, and it would like to transform itself into a wider collection reservoir that will embrace left-wing socialist youth tendencies. The MSZMP supports KISZ' transformation into stratum-organizations.

[Toth] Next agenda point: economic opening up.

[Major] It is prevailing more and more, and also in the sphere of our socialist partners. They look for convertible value goods, for convertible goods, and not those which cannot be sold on other markets. As for CEMA, we consider it to be very important by virtue of the size of the socialist markets, of their potential, but we also think that it requires fundamental reform. Our Soviet negotiating partners also agree with us on this. This was demonstrated by Miklos Nemeth's most recent talks in Moscow. But the starting point should naturally be that the domestic markets should evolve in every individual country, because the development of a more common, large CEMA market can only result from this. The matter cannot be started by reforming the CEMA market—in other words, by the end of the process.

[Toth] It was already asked at the last Central Committee session whether the government can accept the party's action program. In other words, can the Hungarian Government undertake the international economic opening?

[Major] The Hungarian Government must shoulder even this painful era, which is burdened with transformation and at times with human problems, because otherwise we will really miss the train of European development. If we just think that in 1992 the EC's borders will be virtually wiped out, economic and political borders as well, then Hungary must as quickly as possible consider how she could join this main line—in structural transformation and competitiveness—in the revaluation of Hungarian labor.

[Toth] Between 7 and 14 March there was an exchange of letters with the Romanian party.

[Major] This was the first time since then that our Politburo held a session. The Politburo has just been notified that on 7 March a memorandum [jegyzek] was handed to our ambassador in Bucharest; he was acquainted with the Romanian standpoint that disapproves [helytelenit] of Hungary being a coauthor of the Geneva human rights proposal, whose initiator was Sweden.

[Toth] But this happened before the Geneva voting.

[Major] Yes, this happened prior to the Geneva voting. The Romanian letter disapproving of Hungary's coauthorship was written in this context, and its tone is fairly intolerant. Today's Politburo session replied to this, with which Janos Berecz acquainted the Romanian ambassador this afternoon.

[Toth] May we learn anything of the letter's contents?

[Major] We have resolutely protested against [kikertuk magunknak] those expressions which in our view are not a part of diplomatic correspondence, on the one hand, and which make qualifications [minositenek]. We expressed our stand on human rights, a stand that accords with that of 33 of the 35 signatories to the Helsinki document. And we also expressed our readiness to, if possible, hold substantive discussions, for Hungary is always ready for talks.

[Budapest Television Service in Hungarian at 1830 GMT adds the following: "The MSZMP Central Committee session has been convened for 29 March. This was decided today by the party's Politburo."]

Grosz Adviser Views Pact-USSR Relations

LD1303222989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1815 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Interview with Gyula Thurmer, foreign political adviser to MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz, by unidentified presenter, on the "First-Hand Information" program; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Presenter] We learned some weeks ago that following the visit of Premier Miklos Nemeth, Karoly Grosz is also soon to visit Moscow. We asked Gyula Thurmer, who is the party general secretary's foreign political adviser, for details on this:

[Thurmer] We are now coordinating its precise date with our Soviet colleagues. Our meeting will take place some time during the week beginning 20 March. It will be a (?1)-day working visit.

[Presenter] What are the stakes of such a meeting? Recently I read in the Hungarian papers that Soviet papers had written that in the seventies certain meetings at the general-secretary and first-secretary level might have had stakes such as, for example, whether the Hungarian premier should remain in office. During his visit to Hungary, Leonid Brezhnev was the one who decided that Jeno Fock had to be removed from his post of premier, or that Rezso Nyers had to be dismissed from his post of Central Committee secretary. Is that era now over?

[Thurmer] There is probably some truth in what the papers you mention have made public. Today, without the knowledge of the documents and historical facts, I cannot yet confirm the information that has appeared in the press.

As a matter of fact, this was done to Premier Jeno Fock, who told Hungarian journalists that this was indeed how it happened.

The more important and interesting part of the question, perhaps, is what is happening today. One should expect no sensations from the visit we are planning for next week. It is in our interest to learn their views as to what they think about building socialism, how they plan political reform, what they have achieved in transformation, where are the points on which we can unite, and where are the areas in which we require the Soviet Union's moral and political support.

[Presenter] For example, how can the Soviet Union support us politically? For if we take a good look around in the socialist world, then we and the Soviet Union are in a minority. I think it is a rare case in which the Soviet Union ends up in the minority. We are surrounded by countries such as Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia, and to the north of us Poland, who are either already in a crisis or on the threshold of a crisis, or who are politically expressly opposed to both the Soviet Union and ourselves, such as, for instance, Czechoslovakia and the GDR.

[Thurmer] I will discuss briefly what I see as the essence of Hungarian-Soviet political cooperation today. At last year's general secretaries' meeting, the two sides confirmed that they understand precisely that in both countries there are considerable economic and political difficulties. We both confirmed that we favor developing the socialist countries' cooperation and Hungarian-Soviet relations in the long term. This does not mean that the Soviet Union accepts all our international or domestic political steps, or that it understands them. But what it does mean is that it understands part of the issues, whereas it takes cognizance of another part of the issues. This position is favorable for us.

[Presenter] You pay attention not only to the relations maintained with the Soviet Union, but also to the cooperation that has evolved with the other socialist countries. There recently appeared in the 1956 recollections of Agnes Sagvari a description of when the ambassadors of Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia hastened to parliament to protest the restoration of the old Hungarian royal coat-of-arms, saying that the existence of the inheritor states was being threatened by the restoration of the royal coat-of-arms, which symbolizes the legitimate state of Great Hungary. That is why I ask: Have the ambassadors been calling on you once again?

[Thurmer] I myself met with the Czechoslovak ambassador recently, and at the time of Karoly Grosz's visit I also held a lengthy discussion with Yugoslavia's ambassdor to Budapest. We have all established—and I would like to say this here as well—that our countries have passed beyond the time when we had to reproach one another with questions of this nature. What I consider to be the biggest achievement in the relations of the neighboring socialist countries, with the exception of one country, is that we have overcome the past and have started off toward a new quality of cooperation.

[Presenter] Yes, but precisely in connection with Czechoslovakia one can hear a huge amount concerning the fact that Czechoslovakia is still in the condition into which it was put after 1968 by the so-called Brezhnev doctrine, and that the practice and principled order of the Hungarian and Czechoslovak parties are separated politically by an abyss. Now, can one move beyond such a contradiction? And if you will permit an observation: As long as the name of Pozsony canot be written down in Hungarian, or long as the Magyars in Czechoslovakia cannot give their children a Hungarian first name, can we sincerely claim that we have setled our relations with Czechoslovakia?

[Thurmer] When we determine our policies toward socialist countries, we can choose between two possibilities. Either we look for the differences—and then sooner or later we arrive at your situation—or we look to see what it is that connects us. I think that the latter is really the realistic and correct policy. There is probably a lot of truth also in what you have said. But, compared to the past, and compared to others, the situation that exists in Czechoslovakia today, and which also exists in Yugoslavia, is good, and it is precisely for that reason that our policy welcomes it.

[Presenter] The 1968 Prague Spring was prevented by a coordinated socialist action—its unfolding was, at any rate. What is the guarantee that the transformation in Hungary could be held up [megakaszt] on the basis of a similarly unified principle, not by an action but by some kind of incident or perhaps even indirect interference in Hungarian internal affairs? Is there such a guarantee?

[Thurmer] I see the guarantee in the essence of the policy, the present-day policy, of the majority of the socialist countries. It does not meet with the interests of a single socialist country for there to be another tragedy in Hungary. At the same time, it does not meet with the interests of a single socialist country that it should be forced to employ force and weapons anywhere in the world. Both we and our Soviet friends—but I think the neighboring socialist countries as well—are working to see that we interpret internationalism not as we did earlier, but that socialism must be defended, first and foremost in such a way that it must be the task of the national leaderships, of the individual parties, of the individual countries.

Varkonyi Departs for Visit to United Kingdom

LD1403233589 Budapest MTI in English
1852 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 14 (MTI)—On March 14, Tuesday, Peter Varkonyi, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, left on an official visit to the United Kingdom on the invitation of Sir Geoffrey Howe, secretary of state for foreign and Commonwealth affairs.

Polish Consul Criticizes Hungarian Customs

LD1403221789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] The Polish consul in Budapest has criticized Hungary's customs organs and the Hungarian police, alleging that they are harrassing Polish tourists. The Polish diplomat gave this statement to ZYCIE WARSZAWY. In this same article, however, Colonel Gyorgy Balogh, deputy chief of the Customs and Internal Revenue Police, described the procedures of Hungarian customs officials as legal. Gyorgy Balogh announced that they will also in the future take a resolute stand against Poles' contraventions of customs. Gyorgy Balogh described the customs offenses of Hungarians in Poland as negligible compared to what Poles do in Hungary.

Ivanyi Returns From Prague CEMA Meeting

LD0803023889 Budapest MTI in English 2354 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 7 MTI—Pal Ivanyi, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, who attended a two-day consultation of the Central Committee secretaries in charge of economic affairs of the communist and workers parties of the CMEA countries in Prague, returned to Hungary on Tuesday [7 March].

Interviewed on Results

AU1003113589 Budapest MTI in English 1041 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 09/03/1989—Prague was host to the two-day working meeting of Central Committee secretaries in charge of economic affairs of communist and workers' parties of the CMEA countries early this week. The HSWP was represented by Pal Ivanyi, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, who made the following statement to NEPSZABADSAG:

'The main item on the agenda was the development and renewal of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). I said in my contribution that what characterizes the CMEA today is that the sources of intensive cooperation have run out, and its role to boost efficiency has gradually dwindled in the recent period, together with its function to stabilize and activate the national economies of the member countries. In the course of the last 15 or 20 years, we could not pinpoint the ways, methods and means of cooperation that would have helped us keep abreast of the restructuring processes in the world economy. We need a real market, while commodity and financial conditions should be given greater scope, and the planning system radically transformed, together with the encouragement of cooperation between companies. All this would postulate that the entire price and financial accounting system within the CMEA be laid on new foundations. These acceptable changes have already been incorporated into our practice. We maintain that:

'1. The CMEA should undergo a radical transformation;
2. This renewal should not imply isolation, but rather an
opening up to, and catching up with, the world economy;
3. Cooperation necessitates the renewal of internal economic
forces and a greater reliance on economic rules;
4. To establish an international market requires the
development of national markets;
5. Only an extensive development may bring about a free flow
of commodities and production factors within the CMEA.

'The Hungarian economy is closely linked to the economies of the CMEA countries, especially that of the Soviet Union. 60 per cent of our material and energy requirements are imported from there. Furthermore, we should not ignore any market in a world desperately competing for markets. Instead of abandoning it, we should shape cooperation according to the new requirements. Dependent on several other national economies, such a small and open economy as ours should carefully consider its actions,' says Pal Ivanyi.

New Publication Carries Pozsgay, Szuros Articles

LD1303110389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0530 GMT 13 Mar 89

[From the press review]

[Text] We would like to expand today's press review to cover a temporary publication entitled 15 MARCH. According to those who prepared the paper, which consists of 12 pages and which has the same format as other daily newspapers, the publication seeks to revive the press traditions of 1848. Its editorial, healined "The Chances for Freedom," was written by Imre Pozsgay.

A few well-known names of those who also wrote articles for this issue are Matyas Szuros, Istvan Huszar, Laszlo Lengyel, Gyorgy Balo, and Zoltan Kiraly.

Instead of a detailed press review, let me read you a few of the paper's headlines: "Our Country Belongs to Europe," "Stalemate Situation at the Top," "The Key to the Peaceful Transition," "Waiting for the Last Train," and "Does the Party's Speedometer Work?"

Budapest City Party Committee Meets 13 Mar

LD1303214989 Budapest MTI in English 1829 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 13 (MTI)—On Monday the Budapest Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held an extended session on the tasks of workshop and residential party organizations and reform of the political system. Participants took a stand for the HSWP to draft an operative schedule of activity at places of work. The participants said the comprehensive party programme should be clarified and later detailed. Several contributors stressed the importance of the economy, while regarding the economic and the political reforms as an integral whole.

On the reform of the political system, it was considered important for the transition to the multi-party system to be carried out gradually, as a result of a predictable political process. The HSWP has to be renewed in order to be able to take a decisive role.

Participants raised the idea of organizing an extraordinary working congress and proposed that in future the HSWP congresses should be convened not for a predetermined date but when it is deemed timely by both party members and leaders.

Straub, Officials Address Budapest IPU Session

LD1303120889 Budapest MTI in English
1113 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 13 (MTI)—The 81st conference of the Inter-parliamentary Union (IPU), attended by about 500 hundred MP's from more than 100 countries, opened in Budapest Congress Centre on Monday morning.

The opening ceremony of the conference, which rallies the legislative memnbers of over 110 countries, was addressed by Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, Matyas Szuros, speaker of the National Assembly, Sandor Barcs, chairman of the Hungarian section of the IPU, and Jan Martenson, UN deputy secretary-general. Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs, was also present.

The one-week conference is primarily aimed at preparing an international charter enshrining the rights of children and youth. The draft of the charter was approved at the recent Geneva meeting of the UN Commission on Human Rights. The participating MP's are also to discuss what the duties of the legislations of the individual countries are in helping to bring about the settlement of the Middle East crisis.

Barcs Elected Session Head

LD1303224289 Budapest MTI in English
2029 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 13 (MTI)—During its Budapest session on Monday afternoon, the IPU Council admitted San Marino and Ethiopia to its members. With this, IPU rallies the legislators of 112 countries.

On the proposal of the council, the plenary session elected Sandor Barcs, head of IPU's Hungarian group, as president of the 81st inter-parliamentary conference by unanimous vote.

Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, is to address the meeting on Tuesday afternoon.

The council proposed to invite to the conference Yasir 'Arafat, president [as received] of the Palestine Liberation Organization, who will be then visiting Hungary. Although the Palestine National Council holds an observer's status on IPU, Mr 'Arafat was invited separately. He is expected to take the floor on Friday morning.

The conference decided to discuss the tasks of parliaments in convening an international conference for the settlement of the Middle East situation. IPU has been concerned with the Mideast crisis for a longer time. At its latest session it passed a resolution in condemnation of the acts of terror against the population of the occupied Arab territories and it plans to send a fact-finding delegation to the site.

In the evening a gala performance was given in honour of the participants of the conference at the Hungarian state opera under the sponsorship of the Hungarian group of the Inter-parliamentary Union.

Social Democrats Request Recognition From SI

LD1003185589 Budapest MTI in English
1703 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna, March 10 (MTI)—Andras Revesz, president of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, requested membership, on behalf of his party of the Socialist International [SI] at the Vienna conference of the organization's party leaders on Friday [10 March].

Mr Revesz voiced his thanks for the chance he had been given to address the session as an invited guest on behalf of his 99-year-old party. He announced that the Hungarian Social Democratic Party again wishes to be a member with full rights of the Socialist International.

Mr Revesz stressed that the Hungarian changes in the past months proved: The Hungarian people have not forgotten the noble aims of the Social Democratic Party, the ideals of freedom, democracy, freely elected parliament and social justice. He noted that the party's main aim is the gradual transformation of Hungarian society by taking the political realities into consideration. To attain this goal, the party is ready to cooperate with the other Hungarian parties. In the last sentence of his contribution to the session, Mr Revesz requested the moral, political and financial support of the Socialist International.

Following the session, Tibor E. Baranyai, secretary of the Social Democratic Party, told MTI's Vienna correspondent that the Socialist International would decide on the membership request at its Stockholm congress this summer. Acceptance would mean recognition with full rights for the party: in the past, it attended the Socialist International conferences only with a consultative nature, because the party was in emigration in Hungary. Mr Baranyai said the Hungarian Social Democratic Party had invited representatives of the Socialist International parties to Budapest to attend its programmes on May 1. Leaders of the SPD of the FRG and the SPO [Socialist Party of Austria] of Austria have promised, unofficially, to delegate representatives to the ceremonies of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party.

In answer to a question about whether the Hungarian party counts on financial support from the Socialist International, Mr Baranyai said: The Hungarian Social Democratic Party should mainly get back its wealth from the Hungarian Government and the HSWP. It mainly hopes for moral and political support from the Socialist International. He added that the Hungarian Social Democratic Party requests this support not for its own ends, but for the entire country.

Pro-Reform Movement Announces Organization

LD1303142089 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] A new organization has announced its formation. It is known as the Hungarian Realistic National Movement. According to its statutes, the movement wishes to operate as an independent intellectual and political force and does not intend to become a party. Its purpose is to support the establishment of a democratic constitutional state and to aid the reform process.

Negotiations Fail; Transport Strikes Continue

LD1403232589 Warsaw PAP in English
2153 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 14—Following a motion from the mayor of Plock, the town's municipal council at its extraordinary session today took a decision to set up a new public transport enterprise. The decision followed ineffective 18-day negotiations with the strikers in the Plock MPK (Municipal transport enterprise).

The conflict concerned new principles of remuneration for work on free Saturdays and Sundays, bonuses for economized fuel and raising the hour rate. The strike which entailed the dissolution of the enterprise and the setting-up of a new one was very painful for more than 120,000-strong population of Plock.

Similar difficulties were faced today by citizens of Skierniewice, south-west of Warsaw, where public transport workers are on strike for the second day running. The negotiations with the management of the local MPK on raising the hour rate by 100 zlotys and better organization of drivers' work failed to bring effects.

Also drivers of long-distance and commuter buses working for the Polish road transport services (PKS) in Kedzierzyn-Kozle, near Opole, went on strike today putting forth the demands of higher wages. The strike paralyzed the passenger and cargo traffic in the region.

Roundtable Mining Team Holds Seventh Debate

LD1503092989 Warsaw PAP in English
2003 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 14—The roundtable subteam for mining, co-chaired by Marian Gustok, Rajmund Moric, and Alojzy Pietrzyk, held its 7th debate today. Representative of the government's press bureau, Zbigniew Augustynowicz, reported to PAP on the course of the discussion.

The participants discussed first and foremost the problems concerning the time of work, the economic-financial system, wages and management in the mining of hard coal. The government-coalition side presented a draft of arrangements which had been elaborated according to motions and proposals raised by all sides in the course of to-date debates. In the draft, the principle of a 5-day working week was confirmed in keeping with the 1980 Jastrzebie agreement.

As for wages, it was suggested in the draft to absolutely uphold the principle that pays in the mining industry should be in proportion of 2:1 in relation to pays in the processing industry for a comparable working time.

Both the opposition-Solidarity side and OPZZ, having made remarks on the draft, decided to have the work continued and to make it more precise. A working group was appointed to present a joint stand of all the sides on the matter at the subteam's next meeting.

Co-Chairmen Interviewed on Strikes

LD1403205789 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1800 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Interview with Marian Gustek and Alojzy Pietrzyk, co-chairmen of the roundtable subteam for mining affairs, by unidentified correspondent—date, place not given]

[Text] [Correspondent] Marian Gustek, co-chairman of the roundtable subteam for mining affairs:

[Gustek] Today's sitting started rather unpleasantly. That is because we received news from Silesia in the morning that four mines had struck. The intention was to use the strike threat to change the personnel at the roundtable talks. I made a strong protest in the name of the coalition-government side, stating that such conditions contain no incentive, and that this obviously does not accelerate nor help settle matters that are already being considered. The Solidarity side has made the appropriate statement on this matter. It tried to intervene [words indistinct] so as to end these strikes. At three mines the strikes ended after 2 hours. Unfortunately at the Morcinek mine, as far as I know, it lasted until midday. Nor was such an incident avoided as the isolation of the mine director. This is very unpleasant and does not favor good work at the roundtable.

[Correspondent] But at the moment everyone at the mine is working?

[Gustek] As far as I know, at the moment, yes.

[Correspondent] Alojzy Pietrzyk, co-chairman of the mining affairs subteam:

[Pietrzyk] Four mines stopped work today. Three mines had a 2-hour strike. The Morcinek mine extended this until 1300 [1200 GMT]. Only when I appealed by telephone from the place of deliberations, did they decide to break it off and undertake to work. The main cause was the non-(?payment) of the 14th month payment, that has been paid out to the miners, and this has omitted 1,000 miners striking in August, unfortunately.

[Correspondent] And what was settled today here at this meeting?

[Pietrzyk] Today we signed two agreements: One agreement on the matter of the mining health service; the second agreement on the matter of pensions and annuities.

Housing Subteam Reconsiders 'Final' Document

LD1403234989 Warsaw PAP in English
1927 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 14—The roundtable's housing policy subteam which had completed its work by adopting a final statement last week, held an extra meeting today under the co-chairmanship of Zbigniew Janowski, Lucjan Mieczkowski, and Aleksander Paszynski to reconsider four paragraphs of the final document, especially the passage describing variants of the future of people on the waiting list for flats built by housing cooperatives.

The subteam upheld its original stance on two questions but gave a new wording to the other two. The subteam reached agreement after it had eliminated previous disagreements. It passed a joint stance on the waiting list for flats and on the method to fulfil the liabilities to people waiting for flats built by the cooperatives.

The subteam agreed that the state should provide conditions enabling the cooperatives to do so.

Subteam for Youth Works on Final Draft Proposal

LD1503110589 Warsaw PAP in English
2224 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 14—Andrzej Celinski and Leszek Miller co-chaired the debates of the "roundtable" subteam for youth here today. Dariusz Szymczycha briefed journalists on the course of the debates.

Members of the subteam worked on their final stance the draft of which had been elaborated by a joint working group. The document covered four groups of subjects: pluralism of youth unions and associations, social and material problems of the young, conditions for the realization of the mandatory military service and subjectivity of pupils in the process of school education.

The subteam resolved to precede the text of the draft with a detailed preamble which led to the discrepancy of views. The government-coalition side put a motion to include in it the basic, universal values forming the educational consensus while, the opposition-Solidarity side suggested that the detailed principles be submitted by a general statement speaking of an agreement between various youth groups and education milieus as to the basic civic values.

In the course of the discussion, a representative of DP, Deputy Helena Chodkowska put forth another proposal, i.e. a provision which would see the source of the basic civic values in the international declaration of human and civil rights and in Polish democratic experiences.

Since the subteam's previous meeting there has been further rapprochement of stances as to the pluralism of youth unions and associations.

While discussing the conditions for the realization of the mandatory military service, participants of the meeting were at one in their opinion that the process of international detente, disarmament, the restructuring of the Polish Armed Forces are instrumental to streamlining the conditions of military service and the realization of the regular defensive duty.

Officers Turn Back 10,000 Customs Violators

LD1403222289 Warsaw PAP in English
1939 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 14—Polish customs officers sent back home from border crossings in the west and south of Poland over the last weekend some 10,000 Poles who had violated Polish customs regulations by attempting to smuggle out of the country excessive quantities of food and other products, the private export of which is forbidden or liable to high customs charges, the spokesman of the main customs office told PAP.

On February 25 and 26, 1989 West Berlin's customs service and police estimated that 8,000 Poles were dealing with illegal trade there, while the respective figure for the last weekend was 2,000. The tightened inspections on Polish border crossings will be continued until the complete elimination of smuggling food and other goods out of Poland by Polish citizens for illegal sale abroad.

Further on Border 'Excesses'

LD1103142989 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1105 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Excerpts] [Presenter] We have been reporting on the customs excesses on our western Border. Here is the latest report from Swiecko:

[Unidentified correspondent] Yesterday and today it has been quiet at the Swiecko border crossing point the largest in the west of the country. Of course, there were cars loaded with a dozen or so blocks of butter, kilograms of cheese and sausage, loaves of bread, vodka, cigarettes, children's clothing, bedlinen, blankets, and even razorblades and ping pong balls. They were, however, ruthlessly turned back by Polish customs men at the crossing. During Friday night and Saturday morning 40 out of 1,300 private cars were sent back as were 1 out to 10 buses. [passage omitted]

That's the picture at one crossing point only. We obtained fuller information at the Head Customs Office [GUC]:

[Begin unidentified customs official recording] Our tourists, our countrymen are not just breaking international conventions, but local regulations—not to mention the moral aspect of the whole affair. [end recording]

[Correspondent] GUC press spokesman, Mr Zygmunt Janczyk. Up-to-the-minute news: What was happening last night?

[Janczyk] In the past 24 hours, about 3,000 of our fellow countrymen were asked to return home.

[Correspondent] Was this done nicely, politely?

[Janczyk] The request was put very categorically, but tactfully. For example, 560 people were turned back in Cieszyn last night. They went back home. It's worth stressing that the waiting time at this border crossing point was from 4-7 hours. Why was this? Simply because many buses and private cars and their passengers turn up at the same crossing point several times, waiting for the customs men to get tired and stop checking. Customs men don't stop checking, particularly at night when the checks are stepped up. Now, the western frontier: in Swiecko, in Kunowice, in Zgorzelec, and in Kudowa Zdroj, we have noted a very large number of people trying to take across large amounts of food.

[Correspondent] We are still talking about last night?

[Janczyk] All of this happened last night. Many people were again asked to return home. [passage omitted]

At some border crossing points, during the daytime, 1 in 3 travellers has had to return home, because he failed to observe our customs regulations; during the night, it's every other one.

Poles Pay $3,500 for Forged U.S. Entry Visas

*LD1403235689 Warsaw PAP in English
2043 GMT 14 Mar 89*

[Text] Warsaw, March 14—A Pole traveling to the United States was turned back by immigration officers who found his entry visa to be forged. Many others did not leave Poland being told at the travel agencies or airports that their U.S. visas were not genuine.

A number of Poles fearing refusal of a U.S. visa or strongly motivated to leave without delay were naive enough to pay up to 3.5 thousand dollars to a group of cheats promising to help using their connections in the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw.

Warsaw police have arrested several suspects, while evidence suggests that visas of other countries may also be forged.

State Council Meets, New Ambassadors Appointed

*LD1303225189 Warsaw PAP in English
2102 GMT 13 Mar 89*

[Text] Warsaw, March 13—At a meeting here today the Council of State discussed maters linked with the proposal to establish the Office of the President and the Senate as well as the necessary changes in the Constitution which that implies.

The Council of State also discussed proposals concerning the law on elections to the Sejm and Senate.

The council appointed new ambassadors: Roman Czyzycki to Egypt, Miroslaw Dackiewicz to Lesotho, Stanislaw Pawlak to the United Nations in New York, and Juliusz Bialy to India.

All of them are career diplomats with long years of duty in the foreign service.

State Council Report Reviewed

*LD1503094289 Warsaw PAP in English
2147 GMT 14 Mar 89*

[Text] Warsaw, March 14—Before representatives of the opposition-Solidarity side presented their evaluation of today's "roundtable" debates at a press conference, Janusz Onyszkiewicz referred to a report from a meeting of the Council of State.

In light of the curtness of the official communique, Onyszkiewicz expressed anxiety as to whether the Council of State reviewed the joint statements of the "roundtable" as concerns the senate and electoral law during.

At present it is necessary to make joint or divergent entries, stated Andrzej Celinski while commenting on the course of debates in the subteam for youth. He drew attention to a statement which the government-coalition side made that day, confirming a will to register the NZS [Independent Association of University Students] Students' Union at the shortest date after social agreement is reached. We deem the reiteration of this statement as valuable, right and topical, Celinski said.

Asked about the prospects for registering the ZHR, Boy Scouts of Poland Union, he stated that thus far the government-coalition side did not express a will to register the ZHR and that this was at present the main, even the most important matter being discussed.

If one were to look at the matters which were tackled during the debates of the subteam for health affairs one by one, one could basically say that everything proceeded according to our wishes, stated Marek Edelman. We are very glad, he added, pointing to the arrangment that there will be no "nomenklatura" in health service.

Alojzy Pietrzyk was above all asked about his stand towards the strike actions in Silesia. He stated that during Tuesday's debates he contacted the mines where work stoppages occurred and gained assurances that work would be resumed. He denied the allegations that a general strike was being prepared in mines. He termed the situation in them as tense and noted that miners, bearing in mind Lech Walesa's appeal, are above all trying to [remainder of item indistinct].

Politburo Meets, Views Sociopolitical Situation

AU1303153489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Mar 89 p 1-2

[PAP report: "Meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo"]

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Politburo met on 7 March. The meeting was attended by first secretaries of voivodship PZPR committees, plus secretaries and departmental heads of Central Committee commissions. The Politburo examined the sociopolitical situation. In particular, it discussed the "roundtable" talks and the outcome of work on the new Sejm election rules. The Politburo reaffirmed its desire for accord for the sake of the nation and Poland's favorable development.

During the debate, there were many references to the decisions of the 10th plenum. These form the backbone of party activity. By making these decisions, the party has opened a new chapter in its service to the nation and working people.

Society is still not adequately aware of the party's stance toward various problems and phenomena in political, social, and economic life, said the Politburo. It is necessary to present the changes in PZPR policy and functioning in a way that is easier to understand. The same applies to the party's stance vis-a-vis the past; this should be conveyed to society in a comprehensible manner, and information on this should be exhaustive, not simplified.

That is the basic way of counteracting those who question the party's achievements, its ability to carry out democratic changes and economic reforms, and its ability to transform itself. Demagogic and false slogans undermining everything the party leadership has done, especially in the 1980's, are being used in the political struggle in our country.

The party and its members must be equipped with arguments in favor of the positive actions and bold reforms that cover every sphere of life.

The Politburo said that society must be convinced that the party is a force to whom the problems and grievances of working people are not a subject of indifference. Passiveness, and decisions that pursue "the path of least resistance" and violate working people's interests, such as economically unjustifiable price increases, must be sharply condemned. Price jumps at a time of economic imbalance are upsetting society. It is not possible to keep these under control by administrative means alone. Together, party organizations, trade unions, and worker self-management bodies should form a united front of social opposition to excessive prices. In particular, these bodies should prevent their parent enterprises from increasing prices to excess. Such opposition will be a very valuable form of support for the national economic consolidation program. All this also applies to economically unjustified wage rises.

The Politburo pointed to the international aspects of the changes in Poland, saying that they should increase one's trust in Poland as a reliable partner in dialogue and cooperation, a partner that is making a constructive contribution to the development of the situation in Europe and the world.

The alliance with the Soviet Union and the remaining socialist countries remains the foundation of the Polish raison d'etat. The similarity between the changes in Poland and the USSR is of particular value today. Close cooperation between the PZPR and the CPSU is a particularly favorable condition for an enhancement of the friendship between our peoples. Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland last year was a particularly valuable episode along this path.

The Politburo underlined the importance of the April 1987 Polish-Soviet declaration of cooperation in ideology, science, and culture, signed by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev. This declaration has revitalized many spheres of Polish-Soviet relations on the basis of friendship and mutual trust and respect. The two countries are now engaging in resolving issues which used to be governed by silence. The joint commission engaged in resolving the most sensitive issues is continuing. However, this process must not be influenced by emotions. The subject matter of the "blank spots" may not be used for anti-Soviet purposes that harm the fundamental interests of friendship and cooperation between our states and peoples.

The Politburo stressed that Poles are monitoring the Soviet perestroyka with great interest and feelings of warmth. The firm majority of our citizens understands and appreciates the historic chance posed by the profound political, economic, and social reforms, and sees in these reforms a chance to solve the country's difficult problems and consolidate socialism. Although irresponsible deeds and other excesses cannot cancel out this achievement, they are interfering with the progress in domestic changes, and weakening our country's international position.

The Politburo called for an acceleration of the preparations to hold a meeting of the PZPR-CPSU joint activity commission, one of whose tasks is to implement the provisions of the Polish-Soviet declaration.

The Politburo acquainted itself with the party accountability campaign. The decisions of the 10th plenum are having a major effect on this campaign, and are encouraging debates on the subject of the strategy of accord and reforms.

Party report-back meetings have been calling for faster changes inside the party and a creative search for new solutions. In particular, it is necessary to make full use of the outcome of the 10th plenum and Third All-Polish

Theoretical and Ideological Conference, said the Politburo. Party organizations and cells must prepare themselves properly for efficient activity under political and trade union pluralism.

Those taking part in these report-back meetings referred to the "roundtable" talks very frequently. The Politburo said that the compromise which Poland needs so much today may be brought about by responsibility and constraint on the part of all parties to the dialogue. At the same time, it is necessary to firmly counteract attempts to upset the public order and break the law.

The Politburo examined ways of implementing the 10th plenum decision to obliterate the effects of Stalinism. In particular, it examined ways of rehabilitating the victims of the lawlessness. The Politburo recalled that most of the victims of unjustified persecution have been rehabilitated since 1956. Nevertheless, the circumstances that led to harm suffered by Polish citizens during the Stalinist era should be fully explained.

The Politburo also considered it essential to assess the activity of Boleslaw Bierut and symbols associated with him.

It is essential to straighten out the disinformation which violated the process of socialist change, in fact the very essence of socialism, in the past, especially toward the end of the 1940's and beginning of the 1950's, said the Politburo. The rejection of the Stalinist system after 1956, especially the implementation of the program of socialist renewal adopted at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, will help overcome and eliminate the last vestiges of the centralist-bureaucratic method of authority and management over social life and the economy. The chance to do so is provided by the profound reforms that are paving the way toward a law-governed and democratic socialist state, with parliamentary democracy, a civic society, and a modern and efficient economy.

The Politburo decided to appoint a commission to assess the origins and effects of Stalinism in Poland and present a report on this matter at the next party conference of congress delegates. This cannot signify a negation or playing down of the real achievements of People's Poland, nor can it undermine the significance of the involvement of millions of working people in shaping a new reality.

14 March Session Reported

LD1403221189 Warsaw PAP in English
2048 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 14—PUWP CC Political Bureau met here today to assess the socio-political situation in Poland with particular regard to the developments taking place in the biggest academic centres.

Participants in the meeting discussed the course of the "roundtable" talks and pondered on the chances of their favourable conclusion. They also addressed themselves to draft amendments to the electoral law and Poland's Constitution.

The Political Bureau adopted a plan of celebrations to mark the 50th anniversary of Nazi invasion of Poland, that is the outbreak of World War Two.

The PUWP CC Political Bureau got acquainted with a report on the state's religious policy and particularly with draft laws meant to regulate this domain of social life.

DP Presidium Meeting on Situation in Country

LD1403235889 Warsaw PAP in English
2116 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 14—The Democratic Party (DP) Central Committee Presidium today pointed to the need for urgently drawing conclusions from the new situation being created in Poland, and of raising the effectiveness and democratisation of partnerlike forms of cooperation within the coalition. In this connection, the Presidium found it necessary to organize a common meeting of PUWP, UPP and DP authorities to discuss these questions and make appropriate arrangements.

It was stated during the meeting, that DP fully supports all the political and social-economic solutions suggested by the government-coalition side at the roundtable that are in accord with the general DP programme line.

United Peasant Party on Sociopolitical Situation

LD1403235289 Warsaw PAP in English
2000 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 14—The Presidium of the United Peasant Party CC got acquainted today with the course and arrangements of the central commission of cooperation of the Polish United Workers' Party, the UPP, the Democratic Party, and the Movement of Lay Catholics and Christians: the Pax Association, the Christian Social Union (UCHS), and the Polish Catholic-Social Union (PZKS).

The Presidium assessed the socio-political situation in Poland and expressed concern about various attempts aimed at provoking social unrest by opponents of the agreement and the reforms. The meeting pointed to a permanent falling of agrarian production's profitability and to the worsening situation of rural communities.

The UPP main board highly assessed the course and the results of the roundtable subteam's debates for agriculture, stating that the arrangements which were made there met halfway economic and social needs of villages and the whole country. Speaking of the course of other roundtable members aimed at reaching agreement in all the most important matters for the nation and the country.

Associations Await Registration in Warsaw

AU1403164589 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 7 Mar 89 pp 1, 2

[Article by Piotr Lojewski: "Waiting for Legality"]

[Text] The Associations Act is being awaited with impatience and a great deal of interest. Will it permit new political parties? Will the authorities adopt a different attitude toward the formation of societies? After all, nothing is permitted right now. Could this be the start of something new?

The last entry in the Warsaw Municipal Office register of associations bears the number 1,226. About 40 applications for registration from the most varied social groups, all of them anxious to become associations, are still awaiting a final decision.

Elzbieta Dziewulska, director of the Department of Social Affairs and Associations at Warsaw City Hall, disagrees with those who claim that an avalanche of new associations will only begin after the Sejm has passed the Act. "Interesting things are going on here all the time, ever since we abolished the clause 'lack of social usefulness' as a reason not to register an association," she says. "Previously, any association whose aim was similar to that of an already existing association had practically no chance of being registered. Today, it does not matter. We have decided that life itself should determine the sense in registering an association. The best associations will withstand the test of time, the rest will not."

The rules governing the registration of associations are over 50 years old. The legal basis is still provided by a 27 October 1932 directive by the president of the Republic of Poland called "law on associations."

Registration is carried out in the city in which the society wants to have its headquarters. Those who want their societies to cover the entire country normally choose Warsaw.

The pages of the Warsaw register of associations indicate an increasing liberalization of our political system. The most interesting entries have been made over the past 7 months, ever since the clause "lack of social usefulness" was abolished. Elzbieta Dziewulska claims that hardly a single application has been rejected lately.

Here are some of the associations that have been registered since the beginning of 1988: The Polish Society of Arteriosclerosis, the Association of Lovers of the Traditions of the Dabrowski Mazurka [the name of the national anthem], the "Dziekania" ["Deanery"] Club of Political Thought, the Warsaw Economic Society, the Union of Siberians, the Association of Catholic Academic Youth, the Association of Soviet Citizens Permanently Resident in Poland, and the Social Committee of Human Rights in Poland.

Several years ago, the January and February 1989 pages of the register of associations would have been considered second-rate literature and confiscated. Since 1 January 1989, we have had the Roman Dmowski National Society, the Society of Industrialists, the Ignay Paderewski Polish-U.S. Friendship Society, and the All-Polish Lovers of Lithuania Club.

The following are some of the associations that are waiting for registration: The Society for Integration with Poles in the Soviet Union, the Union of Democratic Youth, the Polish-U.S. Friendship Society, the Polish National Association, the "Heart of Europe" Society, and the Society of Friends of High Schools.

How are associations registered? What documents are needed?

Elzbieta Dziewulska replies: "An application form; a list of members, at least 15 of whom must be Polish citizens; four copies of the draft statute; minutes of the founders meeting, if there was such a meeting; and a document showing where the society will have its headquarters. By the way, we prefer it if private dwellings are not used as headquarters. The Associations Act says that the applicant must provide the name of the association, which must be different from that of any existing association, and specifies the objectives, resources, and area of coverage of the proposed association. However, the statute is the most important matter. The clearer and more readable it is, the sooner we approve it. After that, there is no problem with registration. This is not some kind of administrative whim. The point is to adapt a statute to the association's future activity. It is in the applicants own interests that we point out their mistakes."

There is no doubt that the new Associations Act will transfer the power of registration to the courts. We will see if new political parties will enter our lives through the doors of justice. The "roundtable" is discussing this question. However, anyone who wants to establish a political debating society does not have to wait for the results of the roundtable. All he has to do is go through the doors of the City Hall.

European Parliament Envoy Holds News Briefing

AU1403142389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11-12 Mar 89 p 2

[PAP report: "The European Parliament Delegation Ends Its Visit to Poland"]

[Text] Hans Joachim Seeler, chairman of a European Parliament delegation for East European affairs which has been visiting Poland, held a news conference in the

Sejm on 10 March, the last day of the delegation's visit. He said that the Poles seem to be much more relaxed and much more optimistic today than they were the last time he visited Poland, in autumn 1987. One can detect a certain psychological change, he said.

Diplomatic relations between Poland and the EEC have existed since September 1988. Talks between them on the subject of a trade and cooperation agreement are due to start soon. The European Parliament will attempt to influence these talks, in the spirit of the policy it pursues.

Asked by a PAP correspondent what this cooperation might cover, H.J. Seeler replied that there are many spheres. One of them is the training of managers, which is bound to be beneficial for the Polish economy. Another sphere is regular contacts between Polish and EEC economic experts. Yet another sphere is the creation of bilateral chambers of trade and industry, which would encourage an influx of credits and capital. There is also a huge scope for scientific cooperation, involving Polish universities and research establishments. This, too, could be of great significance for the Polish economy.

The chairman of the delegation indicated the possibilities of closer links between Poland and the EEC on the basis of associate membership. Various countries enjoy this status today, which has enabled them to establish closer economic links with the Community. Poland, too, could consider this useful. The chairman also said that Polish or Hungarian membership to the Council of Europe, which already has 22 member countries, seems perfectly feasible to him, and quite soon, too. However, in reply to another question, H.J. Seeler could not imagine Poland being a full member of the EEC. Mentioning several countries as examples, Seeler said that EEC membership can only occur one step at a time. He stressed at the same time that the Community has no intention of becoming a "fortress of Europe."

Summing up the delegation's visit, H.J. Seeler indicated the exchange of views during the delegation's meeting with Premier Rakowski and the audience with Cardinal Glemp. He also stressed the significance of the European Parliament delegation's visit to the Oswiecim [Auschwitz] concentration camp.

Sharing his impressions of the domestic situation in Poland, H.J. Seeler said: We were very interested to hear about the development of democracy in Poland. We realize that 40 years of a power monopoly cannot be eliminated in a few weeks. Therefore, we appreciate all the more the progress achieved in the talks on democratic pluralism, on legalizing the opposition and granting it a certain number of seats in the Sejm, and on a second Sejm chamber. We believe this process of democratization is a precondition for the economic reforms that are meant to increase enterprise and initiative and create a capital market, reforms which have already been undertaken in any case.

The problems raised by H.J. Seeler included Poland's debts and environmental protection. As for environmental protection, this is a general problem, and this is understood in the East and in the West, he said. After all, there is no such thing as communist sulfur dioxide or capitalist nitric oxide.

Observer Censures Party Conservative Kociolek

AU2002182189 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 4 Feb 89 p 16

[Article by Daniel Passent: "In the Arms of Nina Andreyeva"]

[Text] As far as I can remember, Stanislaw Kociolek was, among other things, first secretary of the PZPR voivodship committees in Warsaw and in Gdansk and, for a time, a vice premier and Politburo member. He then, as it is politely put, transferred to the diplomatic service and was ambassador to Belgium and the USSR. So S. Kociolek has spent all his adult life in the nomenklatura, and no injustice has been committed. However, for me he is something of a sad figure, perhaps even a tragic one, because the principles that were instilled in him in the 1950's suit today's world less and less, a world that is rapidly changing in contrast to Kociolek, who is changing slowly. This consistency with respect to one's views could be deemed worthy of respect at a time when Grzegorz Jaszunski, the former leading television news commentator, is heard to call for a boycott of television, because even the primate of Poland and Lech Walesa appear on it, but consistency should not mean ossification. Even as conservative an institution as the Catholic Church absolved the Jews after 2,000 years and needed even less time to rehabilitate Galileo. How much time will Stanislaw Kociolek need to understand what happened 10, 20 years ago?

Being in the diplomatic corp, Stanislaw Kociolek may have met two fascinating women: the queen of Belgium in Brussels and Nina Andreyeva, the queen of the conservative element in Moscow. When I read his article "On the 'Roundtable' in the Party" in the latest issue of ZYCIE LITERACKI (Issue No 4), I got the impression that I was reading an adaptation of Andreyeva's article. Ultimately, as ZYCIE LITERACKI is serializing a novel by Solzhenitsyn, the most outstanding Soviet anticommunist writer, the sharp-witted Mr Machejek, the paper's editor, might have decided to reprint Miss Nina's article for, as people say, "the other foot" (that is, the left one). As for a roundtable in the party, was the recent plenum, where there was a genuine discussion, not just that, a roundtable?

Although I began this feuilleton in a light-hearted vein, because that is what standards dictate, I reject S. Kociolek's statement in its entirety, but at the same time I even consider it to be useful in a certain sense. This is a man who has the courage to portray himself as a defender of the basic ideals of socialism—at a time when the principle of equality is being defiled, the workers class is being deserted, public property is being reprivatized, and the leading role of the party is being "chiseled away." Very many journalists, especially foreign journalists, like to ask where the hard-line conservative men of concrete are, who they are, and would like to be introduced to some of them. The typical reply is that they are hidden in the apparatus or the administration, which is defending its interests, that is, privileges, in the face of the threat posed by democracy and reform. Well, one of the qualities of concrete is that being solidified, it does not make any noise of its own accord. You have to strike it before it issues a sound. This reply always seemed to me to be an oversimplification, but before science establishes who the defenders of the status quo really are, those who are defending it from the "program merry-go-round" and "radical reform" that Stanislaw Kociolek ridicules (he asks: "What radicalism, and in the name of what goals and what interests?), it is a good thing that someone is speaking up of his own accord and not for the first time at that. It is evidence of the courage to stand up for what one believes in, although less courage is called for now than in the days when Stanislaw Kociolek was in power, when there was no "hunting of dogmatists," which is what he says is happening in Poland today, but a never ending hunt for revisionists with S. Kociolek as one of the hunters, and thanks to a well organized battue, a prerequiste for any successful hunt, the revisionists fled from Bialowieza, which is lucky when it comes to successful hunts, to the forests of Oxford and Berkely. Now, whenever the BBC's Mister Repa or Monsieur Marguerritte from Radio Petit Fleur want to hear what the representatives of Polish political pluralism in all its beauty have to say, they will not have to limit themselves to Onyszkiewicz and Lamentowicz, but will also be able to broadcast Kociolek's lament.

However, Stanislaw Kociolek would display much more courage if, instead of sounding the alarm on account of a threat to socialism in Poland and warning of the danger of a sell-out in Machejek's publication, where he can always count on sympathetic understanding, he were to voice his beliefs in the nearby Lenin Steelworks or the Lenin Shipyard, which he knows rather well. He himself writes that the PZPR should not "stay at home and occupy itself with its ideology."

At the beginning of his article, where he conducts an exegesis of party documents issued over the last few years, S. Kociolek points to the disturbing phenomenon of the party shifting the emphasis from the workers to working people in a broader sense. Above all, it is not the party that is shifting the emphasis, but workers themselves, especially young workers, and this should concern the author rather more, as the party is losing young workers and students, which is talked about openly today with figures being cited. There is one other detail that I would like to draw attention to. As a notorious non-party member, I often wonder how a party activist differs from an ordinary functionary, the traveller on the personnel merry-go-round in this fairground, which is how our country must appear to him. For me, an activist differs from an apparatchik in that he not only speaks and writes about the proletarian origins of the party and the workers class as a vanguard, but also does not avoid such people and goes out to meet them. He is waiting by the factory gates at 0600, or he goes to a meeting with miners at their coal mine if they want him to come, or he climbs up a crane at the shipyard and checks his views there, he checks to see whether his views are accepted, whether his love is reciprocated, because today the fact that you can count on Nina Andreyeva's reciprocity is too little. As S. Kociolek likes to quote Lenin, let us add that in the past "who the friends of the people are" was decided by the friends, today this is decided by the people, as they are acquiring the right to a voice and are speaking ever more loudly. The days when only the authorities called the tune are over, today society also does so.

Like his earlier piece for ZYCIE LITERACKI, this article by S. Kociolek also has something of the characteristics of a manifesto in which the author jumps from one subject to another. It contains accurate observations, observations that merit consideration and are shared by many people on the left such as, for example, that in celebrations and articles connected with the 70th anniversary "the truth about the miserable existence of the peasantry, the workers, and intelligentsia disappeared in the panache of the first brigade (...) as did the truth about the fiasco of posturing as a power," and that for many circles, settling accounts with Stalinism is actually a matter of settling accounts with socialism, or finally, that "the positive experiences of the Polish workers movement prior to 1980 are being obscured." However, the question is why has this happened? Is it not the case that years of concealing the truth about the mistakes of the workers movement, about the crimes that were committed and then kept under wraps, the blank spots, have caused the balance to tip the other way today? However, we should not be afraid of history, it will issue a just verdict.

Instead, let us take a brief look at what S. Kociolek has to propose for the present. He says, for example, that through its members "wherever they are at work," in other words everywhere, the party is performing new leadership tasks. "Nothing important arises outside the scope of its assessments and positions, beyond the aim of implementing and supervising the implementation of its policies," but at the same time "the real execution of its function of leadership and guidance is being consistently 'chiseled away.'" Does S. Kociolek not know that whoever wants to have a hold on everything ends up with nothing, and that, for example, running the entire economy in various ways for the last 30 years has led to a succession of disappointments?

This is a form of wishful thinking that belongs to another time. Even if S. Kociolek would want the party to direct everything, then he would have to admit that first of all, we do not have the necessary vehicles. He likes the idea of having a couple of hundred of the largest state enterprises act as the engine of reform, to initiate movement in the entire economy. But how should this be done? Which enterprises could perform this role? Today, our large factories, mines, steelworks, and state farms are aging giants with feet of clay; they are often loss-making, and their party organizations are often weak whereas Solidarity representation is strong. I do not think that they could assume the role that S. Kociolek has assigned them. Besides, why exactly should large plants initiate movement in the economy?

An important part of S. Kociolek's report reads as follows: "No answer is provided to the question of how 'vertical,' institutional (the projected presidential system or a new form of parliament) guarantees for our system and alliance would operate if they were not contained in the very essence of our sociopolitical relations and in the realization of an accord that has an unambiguously pro-socialist character. Otherwise, what we would essentially have would be a practical formula for the application of geopolitical socialism. Socialism for some time to come, until a favorable international and domestic situation produces an opportunity, the opportunity awaited by influential forces, to settle Polish institutional affairs in a new way, without any artificial hybrids this time round." On the surface, it sounds wise to say that an accord of an unambiguously pro-socialist character is what will guarantee the system. But Sir, the question is accord with whom? Precisely that—with whom? This depends on what one understands by socialism. If socialism is what we have had until now and is experiencing a crisis, primarily an economic one—from Vietnam to Cuba—the new allies are going to be hard to find, and as for the old allies, we have had accord with them, but these forces are too weak, at least in Poland, to save the country by themselves. The expansion of our alliances, the assumption of responsibility for our country by forces that have not been able to participate in government so far must mean that they will have an influence on the future of the country, on what they, and not only S. Kociolek, understand by the term socialism and for some of them socialism is not a magic word, at least not for the church, for example. To govern in opposition to the church is impossible, and to battle with it over every pilgrimage as was the case in 1960's is senseless, because today both sides are too inclined toward accord.

I deliberately wrote "from Vietnam to Cuba" above, because what S. Kociolek says, and he was active as politician and diplomat not so long ago, is surprisingly divorced not only from the mood of the country—the mood in places of work, schools and colleges, among the intelligentsia, and thus among circles that are particularly active politically—but also from the international situation, from what is happening beyond our borders, in the USSR, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and even in Czechoslovakia and Vietnam, and also from what is happening in the West, where conservatism is faring well. The reality in which our generation of the left developed and in which S. Kociolek was active is coming to end never to return. One can criticize even the recent or present leaderships of these countries—why, even Kadar came into criticism—and our authorities have committed and commit numerous mistakes and follies, but there is no doubt that every one of these countries has found itself in an unprecedented situation and that similar changes are taking place everywhere. There is a movement away from the narrow concept of a monopoly of power, from the state-officialdom dictatorship over the economy, new relations are being established with the churches, there are more democratic elections, relations with the West are better, more truth is being told about the past, there is more openness today, military and foreign policy doctrines are being revised, civil rights are being increased, including the rights of the accused and the accused's defense counsel, and there is less immunity for the militia, prosecutor's offices, and all kinds of apparatuses, including the one in which the views of Stanislaw Kociolek and Nina Andreyeva were formed.

What Stanislaw Kociolek has to say, although this was surely not the author's intention, has rendered the present party leadership an unintended service. It shows that there are other people in the circles of power and that they are proposing a different course. If someone has forgotten where this course led in the 1960's and 1970's, he may be fooled by all of this, but how many people like that are there today?

Are fears that the very foundations of socialism are being threatened groundless and do they deserve to be dismissed? In my opinion, the answer is no. The concern is genuine and completely justified. Today in Poland everything that is left-wing is being criticized and attacked, and the party has found itself in a situation in which—as Prof Cackowski rightly said at the 10th plenum—there is a danger that it may lose power. However, whoever wants to save socialism in Poland cannot do so by reviving what existed in the past and has been rejected by the majority of society, but must propose a socialist platform that is accepted by the people. In 1981, when socialism in Poland faced a deadly danger, it surprised me that its principal defenders, those who shouted the loudest, were afraid to go out onto the streets, afraid to organize just one march or demonstration, to end one strike with the help of workers, to transport strikers out of a factory and leave them on the other side of the factory gates. When the capital's main central intersection was occupied by Solidarity, they were unable to get one streetcar running, they were unable to organize even one counter-demonstration. They had the largest stadium in the capital at their disposal, but they did not try to hold a rally there and shout "They will not pass!"

In my opinion, what is happening today is not a sell-out or some yielding of positions; some positions are illusory. They only exist on the charts at command headquarters, but not on the battlefield, in the trenches. It is rather the case that what is now being shown on the political map of the country is the situation as it actually is, and this has been changing for decades and no form of cartography can alter that. What happened in the past was that efforts were made to change people to suit socialism, today the reverse is happening.

As we know, before an idea can become a material force, it must seize hold of people's minds. The pages of ZYCIE LITERACKI are patient, and one can inveigh, lament, and criticize as much as one wants to, especially when there is some cause to. It is difficult, for example, not to acknowledge that S. Kociolek is right about the various slogans promising instant solutions or ineffective economic solutions, but what do they prove other than that the present sociopolitical solutions have been exhausted.

The written word is tolerant and can put up with all types of journalistic pirouettes (such as the statement that socialism is "the living creation of the people, the cardinal principle of national identity that accords full respect to the plebian, revolutionary tradition, the cardinal principle of the sovereignty of the state and of the sovereignty of the party, which respects the internationalist bond of solidarity with fraternal worker and communist parties"), but this does not elicit the desired response among people and cannot carry them away.

Polish-Soviet Foreign Ministry Protocol Signed

AU1303170989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Mar 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Cooperation Between Polish People's Republic and USSR Foreign Ministries"]

[Text] Ivan Aboymov, USSR vice minister of foreign affairs, and Boleslaw Kulski, minister of foreign affairs of the Polish People's Republic, signed a protocol on cooperation between the two foreign ministries in Warsaw on 6 March. It is connected with a long-term program on cooperation between the USSR and Polish Foreign Ministries, which will be adopted during the upcoming visit to Moscow by the Polish minister of foreign affairs.

B. Kulski said: "This protocol represents a new and, at the same time, very important form from the angle of the actual practice of our relations in all areas. It covers topics that are the subject of bilateral cooperation and cooperation on an international level. It deals with issues relating to detente and disarmament as well as with issues in bilateral relations that have a tangible social effect, such as the creation of border zones for particularly intensive cooperation in various fields. The protocol also deals with issues relating to specialized cooperation between the two ministries, including permanent consultations on all topical issues."

Official Holds Economic Talks in Washington

AU1303165589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Mar pp 1, 2

[Dispatch by Jerzy Gorski, PAP correspondent: "Polish-U.S. Economic Talks"]

[Text] Washington—Janusz Kaczurba, under secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation, is currently visiting the United States and has held talks in Washington with representatives of the Departments of State, Commerce, the Treasury, the heads of the U.S. Chamber of Trade, the chairmen of the Polish-American Economic Council, and the heads of the IMF and the World Bank.

The purpose of the talks was to inform the U.S. Government and the heads of the international financial institutions about Polish laws that are already in operation and plans for the future, as well as to ascertain the views of President Bush's government, the IMF, and the World Bank on the subject of Poland's economic reform program and the changes that are taking place in the country.

J. Kaczurba told Washington's PAP correspondent the following: "In our talks with representatives of the U.S. Government and the international financial institutions, we stressed the importance that we attach to the consistent implementation of our reform program and the economic legislation that has been adopted."

The United States, the IMF, and the World Bank consider curbing inflation and uncontrolled and economically unwarranted wage growth, which cause prices to spiral, to be a fundamental condition for any kind of effective action pertaining to credit assistance for Poland.

J. Kaczurba stated that the U.S. Government, the IMF, and the World Bank consider uncontrolled wage demands to be the most disturbing phenomenon in Poland. Representatives of these institutions fear that such demands might undermine the entire economic reform. The subject of inflation took definite precedence over matters of a political nature.

The vice minister said that representatives of the U.S. Government and the two international financial institutions consider effective government action in bringing inflationary processes under control to be the key factors determining the credibility of Polish economic policy.

Representatives of the U.S. Government expressed recognition for the rate of political change and the democratization process in Poland, but their main attention was focused not on political, but on economic phenomena.

The vice minister said that nowhere, neither at the State Department, the treasury, and the Department of Commerce nor at the IMF or the World Bank were misgivings expressed about the direction of the Polish Government's economic policy. On the contrary, it was stated that the solutions being applied by Poland fit within the framework of an economy that is moving in the direction of a free market. However, one thing is striking. Although the United States is showing an increasing interest in the economic situation in Poland, it is continuing to maintain a passive stance on the question of increasing the level of activity in Polish-American relations.

Although the U.S. Government is addressing fewer and fewer complaints to the Polish authorities and expressing growing recognition for the historic changes that are taking place in our country, this is not being accompanied by increased activity in expanding economic relations with Poland.

The session of the Polish-American Economic Council, which assists a number of American companies, scheduled for this year provides some basis for hoping that there will be an upturn in the level of economic activity and trade between Poland the United States.

Elblag Medium Tank Regiment Disbanded 4 Mar
AU1303165289

[Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 6 March carries on pages 1 and 5 an approximately 600-word report by Cezary Rudnicki entitled "Farewell to the Regiment" describing an official military ceremony held at the base of the 60th "Kartuzy" Medium Tank Regiment in Elblag Voivodship on 4 March. The ceremony initiated the process of disbanding the regiment as part of the program for the reorganization of the Polish Armed Forces.

Maciszewski Comments on Historical 'Blank Spots'
AU1303125989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Mar 89 p 5

[Interview with Professor Jarema Maciszewski, chairman of the Polish side of the Polish-Soviet Historians Commission, by Marek Jaworski: "Closer and Closer to the Truth"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Jaworski] Professor, there has been a lot of material in the Polish press about the Katyn atrocity lately, including a series of documents which must have been included in the package of reports submitted by the Polish side of the joint commission of historians to the Soviet side of this commission. Although this material still only presents an alternative view, an increased appearance of this kind of material shows that Polish society is impatient to hear an official statement from the commission on an issue that is generally regarded as a measure of this commission's credibility. That justifies my asking you what stage the commission has reached in the Katyn issue.

[Maciszewski] I agree, and I have said in public many times that a full explanation of the fate of the Polish officers interned in three camps—Kozhelsk, Starobelsk, and Ostashkov—is a measure of the commission's credibility in the eyes of the Polish public. However, as you can see, our side of the commission has adopted the problem in a broader context. It is not just Katyn that is involved. I wish to make that clear, because we are frequently accused of not appreciating the Katyn case. These accusations are not justified and are painful.

[Jaworski] Let us recall that only those officers who were interned in Kozhelsk died in Katyn. We know nothing about when and where the remaining officers perished.

[Maciszewski] Quite true. I have already presented the complexity of this issue in many press statements. The fact that the Katyn graves contain the bodies of 4,200 Polish officers exclusively from Kozhelsk must be accepted as proved. What remains to be established is the fate of the remaining Polish officers from Starobelsk and Ostashkov. There is no doubt that the fate of these people was just as tragic. The dead men consisted of officers and non-commissioned officers from the Border Defense Corps, border guards, prison service, and police, plus lawyers and others. We know less about Ostashkov than about the other camps. Quite accurate lists of internees at the Kozhelsk and Starobelsk camps were established in the West, but there is only a fragmentary list of Ostashkov internees. We are carrying out extensive investigations into this matter.

As far as Katyn is concerned, of course the commission has discussed it many times. The Polish side has presented the Soviet side with an exhaustive analysis based mainly on Polish and Western sources. We still have no Soviet sources at our disposal. Our analysis makes it quite clear that everything points to the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs [NKVD] as the perpetrator of the atrocity. The Soviet side has accepted with understanding our criticism of the so-called Budenko Report, in other words, a report by a special commission formed in January 1944 to investigate the Katyn atrocity. This was the prime Soviet source, in fact the only Soviet source, until our joint commission was appointed. At the same time, however, the Soviet side said that the information contained in our report is only a guideline. It does not provide, and cannot provide, any direct evidence of guilt. Therefore, the Soviet side considered it essential to analyze Soviet material as well. M.S. Gorbachev said: "As far as the fate of the Polish officers in Katyn is concerned, many people are convinced that this was the work of Stalin and Beria. This tragedy is being examined in minute detail right now. One will be able to tell from the results of this examination to what extent these and other judgments and assessments are justified."

That is the stage we have reached. Any questions about the progress in these investigations should therefore be addressed not to me, but to the chairman of the Soviet side of the commission.

[Jaworski] In that case, perhaps you can tell us something more about the work of the Polish side of the commission?

[Maciszewski] I have already mentioned our analysis. We are carrying out a very penetrating search of the archives. One of the fruits of this search is the Skarzynski Report that was published in ODRODZENIE [REBIRTH]. Skarzynski was secretary general of the Polish Red Cross during the war. This report, discovered in Great Britain by Professor Wlodzimierz T. Kowalski, is the most credible document of all, because it is the earliest one and is devoid of amendments and commentaries. It is the only known copy of the report. Apart from two extracts, it has never been the subject of scholarly discussion, and has never been cited in literature on the subject of Katyn, no matter what Radio Free Europe claims. Every professional historian will appreciate the significance of the original copy of this document. In any case, it sheds a lot of light on the matter and highlights at the same time the patriotic and dignified attitude of the Polish Red Cross, which did not let itself be tricked by Hitlerite propaganda and said: The Soviet Union is at war with Germany, and one must not help the Germans.

We have acquainted ourselves thoroughly with the materials of the Nuremberg Trials. This material cannot be ignored, even though the court in Nuremberg only admitted three witnesses for the defense and three for the prosecution. As we know, Katyn was included in the indictment against the Germans, even though there was no evidence of involvement by any German unit whatsoever.

All the sources I have mentioned or not mentioned are very important. However, the fact remains that they do not provide exhaustive coverage of the issue, nor do they pretend to offer conclusive evidence. Therefore one cannot ignore the need to look for new sources. Even so, I am convinced that any new sources that might surface will not affect our conclusion. It is also worth noticing that individual members of the commission are presenting the results of their own investigations with increasing openness, and numerous articles and public debates are revealing more and more details.

[Jaworski] Has there been any noticeable progress concerning other issues which are the subject of the commission's work?

[Maciszewski] I admit that I feel a little tired from the constant pressure to report on every single step we take, and I have the impression that many of our statements and articles have escaped broader attention. By the way, the commission does not have a monopoly on this subject. Nevertheless, its work is showing other historians which road to take.

Only jealous people can fail to appreciate that. Besides, it takes more than a few months to write a book about this topic, and I fail to understand those who complain that we still have not written a book about the war of 1920 or about 1939.

We have plans to undertake research and produce books on the subject of 25 unexplained or falsified issues. These include not only tragedies, but, on the contrary, positive historical currents that have led to today's allied and friendly relations between Poland and the USSR. We have already sent several works to the printers. A work on the deportation of the Polish population from areas that found themselves under Soviet administration in 1939 is going to be published soon. The "Ksiazka i Wiedza" ["Book and Knowledge"] publishing house is going to print a work entitled "The Tragedy of the Polish Communist Party," which casts light on the relationship between the Komintern and the Polish Communist Party in the 1930's, and describes in detail the persecution suffered by Polish Communists. Also in preparation is a report on military activity east of the Bug River in 1939, which the commission is going to discuss in May. Almost finished is a book about Soviet prisoners of war in Poland, discussing the tragedy of the million-plus Soviet prisoners in Poland, the help accorded to these prisoners by the Polish population, and the participation of 10,000 of these prisoners in the Polish resistance movement. The Polish Scientific Publishing House is publishing a book about the deportation of Poles deep inside the USSR between 1939 and 1941. INTERPRESS is publishing a collection of materials and documents, as well as reports by individual members of the Polish side of the commission. In fact, we are achieving gradual progress in every single sphere. A particularly difficult task was completed a few days ago: a joint analysis of Polish-Soviet relations against a broad international background immediately before and the first 2 months after the outbreak of World War II. I think this document will soon appear in print. I also think that the Polish book "The Eastern Front and the Warsaw Uprising" will be supplemented with Soviet sources.

However, let me make one thing clear. Just because a new source has been revealed or a new book published, that does not mean that an issue has been resolved. That cannot be said of any issue for the time being. A new source or a new book represents a signpost that indicates the road to be followed by future Polish and Soviet research teams. By the way, there are several joint commissions examining Polish-Soviet relations, not just our party commission.

Finally, three things ought to be remembered when assessing our work. First, there is a huge amount of archival material which has still not been touched by researchers; this material must be processed painstakingly. Second, the climate surrounding our investigations is not always a healthy one. It reminds one of a search for sensation. There have been many articles in which one set of half-truths or distortions is replaced by another. Third, our work is meant to serve the future. It is meant to serve Polish-Soviet friendship, which lies in the most profound interests of both countries and peoples. It is not our purpose to cause bitterness, but to reveal the full truth, so that the evil past may be considered closed. I know people would like a quick revelation and sharp criticism. However, that is not the point. The point is to establish the truth. One of my Soviet partners has said that quality must come before time in our work. I agree with that.

[Jaworski] Thank you, professor....

[Maciszewski] Let me add something. I, of course, am unable to describe all the work and provide an accurate record of exchanges of opinion in a short interview, but if anyone would care to consult the minutes of our meetings, he will see the great effort that has already been made.

Appeal Lodged To Absolve Sentenced Socialists
LD1003225889 Warsaw PAP in English
2003 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 10—The minister of justice asked the Supreme Court for an extraordinary appeal against the final verdict of district military court in Warsaw of November 19, 1948, which sentenced six leading socialist activists to many years in prison. These were Kazimierz Puzak, Tadusz Jan Szturm de Sztrem, Jozef Dziegielewski, Feliks Bronislaw Misiorowski, Ludwik Cohn, and Wiktor Krawczyk.

They were accused of trying to overthrow the state's political system, remove the organs of authority, and of taking actions aimed at carrying this intention into effect.

The justice minister asked for changing the verdict and absolving the six men. The minister's substantiation of appeal is elaborate. He has found that the verdict of the then district military court insults the law by wrongly finding them guilty against the evidence known to the court.

In connection with instituting the extraordinary appeal Minister Lukasz Balcer told PAP that a group of former activists of the Polish Socialist Party PPS had asked him last autumn to examine the purposefulness of instituting the extraordinary appeal against the verdict: "Having examined the case I realized that the sentence of the then district military court, passed in November, 1948, glaringly breaks the letter of the law. The charges were inaccurate and therefore I decided to ask the supreme court for an extraordinary appeal and suggest absolving all the defendants."

Minister Balcer added that the Supreme Court, the Prosecutor General's Office, and Justice Ministry are now studying other political cases in which sentences were passed in the 1940s and 1950s. Despite a broad rehabilitation campaign in 1956, these cases have never been looked at from this angle.

Filmmakers' Association on Shelved Films
LD1403022889 Warsaw PAP in English
2320 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 13—The statement delivered to PAP by the president of Polish Filmmakers' Association, Janusz Majewski, enumerates four feature films and 31 documentaries which are not being screened because of various reasons, not only due to objections by the censors office. Majewski states that "the ban on those films' circulation or their completion is a harmful action for culture."

In connection with that statement, a director in the Committee of Cinematography Jerzy Schoenborn informed PAP that the committee proposed to the censors office to have the films which are not allowed to be circulated reviewed once again. This concerns two feature films and 7 documentaries. Nine other films from Majewski's list were passed by the censors and released for distribution long ago.

Further 11 films are unfinished or abandoned pieces. The Committee of Cinematography has obligated producers to review them and make respective decisions as to their future.

Government Press Office Issues Correction
LD0803175289 Warsaw PAP in English
1543 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 8—The Government Press Office corrects erroneous information released at the government press spokesman's conference on March 7:

It is Poland's foreign minister who wil pay a visit to Holland in May this year, and not the other way round as it was said at the conference.

According to data released by the main statistical office GUS, sold [preceding word as received] production of the socialized industry in fixed prices grew by 5.4 per cent last year as compared with 1987, not by 13 per cent.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 1-7 Mar Noted

AU1403155489

[Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 2 through 8 March reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Gabriela Rembisz, and Boguslaw Kolodziejczak attended a PZPR accountability conference in Poznan on 3 March. (4-5 Mar 89 p 2)

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Florian Siwicki received General of Arms Jozef Kaminski, president of the Main Board of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, on 3 March. (4-5 Mar 89 p 2)

Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR State Council, attended a premiere of "Siegfried" in Warsaw on 3 March. (4-5 Mar 89 p 2)

Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers and PZPR Politburo member, received a group of representatives of leading FRG companies on 4 March. (6 Mar 89 p 2)

Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and deputy chairman of the PPR State Council, received Istvan Roska, the new Hungarian ambassador, at the Belvedere Palace in Warsaw on 1 March. (2 Mar 89 p 2) On 2 March he chaired a meeting of the presidium of the 10th PZPR Congress Appeals Commission. (3 Mar 89 p 2) On 6 March he attended the inaugural meeting of the Public Committee for the Commemoration of the Partisan Battle of Osuchy in Zamosc Voivodship. (7 Mar 89 p 2)

Stanislaw Ciosek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended a PZPR accountability conference in Koszalin; date not given. (4-5 Mar 89 p 2)

Kazimierz Cypryniak, PZPR Politburo member, attended a PZPR accountability conference in Ostroleka Voivodship on 7 March. (8 Mar 89 p 2)

Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended a PZPR accountability conference in Rzeszow on 4 March. (6 Mar 89 p 3)

Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended a PZPR accountability conference in Wloclawek on 4 March. (6 Mar 89 p 5)

Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended a PZPR accountability conference in Jelenia Gora on 6 March. (7 Mar 89 p 2)

Wiktor Pyrkosz, PZPR Politburo member, attended a PZPR accountability conference in Kielce on 4 March. (6 Mar 89 p 3)

Marek Holdakowski, PZPR Politburo candidate member and secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Committee, attended a naval PZPR accountability conference in Gdynia on 2 March. (3 Mar 89 p 2) On 3 March he attended an award ceremony for sailing achievements in Gdansk. (4-5 Mar 89 p 2)

Janusz Kubasiewicz, PZPR Politburo candidate member, visited various sites in Warsaw connected with the construction of the Warsaw subway system on 1 March. (2 Mar 89 p 1)

Zygmunt Czarzasty, PZPR Central Committee secretary, attended an Air Force PZPR accountability conference in Poznan on 3 March. (4-5 Mar 89 p 2) He attended a PZPR accountability conference in Slupsk on 4 March. (6 Mar 89 p 5)

Leszek Miller, PZPR Central Committee secretary, attended a PZPR accountability conference in the Warsaw Military District on 2 March. (3 Mar 89 p 2) He attended a PZPR accountability conference in Siedlce on 4 March. (6 Mar 89 p 5)

Marian Stepien, PZPR Central Committee secretary, attended a PZPR conference in Krakow; date not given. (2 Mar 89 p 1) On 2 March he attended a publishers' meeting in Warsaw organized by the Polonia Society. (3 Mar 89 p 2) He attended a PZPR accountability conference in Lublin on 4 March. (6 Mar 89 p 5) He attended a meeting of the Association of Polish Composers on 5 March. (6 Mar 89 p 5)

Commentary Views Vienna Disarmament Talks

AU1403201089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1855 GMT 14 Mar 89

["For the Attainment of the Major Goal of Vienna Negotiations—Guaranteed Security to Each State"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 14/03/1989—The concommitant holding of debates by the two important negotiating fora in Austria's capital city—on conventional armed forces and on further measures for the building up of confidence and security in Europe—highlights the close connection between conventional disarmament and the consolidation of confidence on the continent.

The fact that states members of opposed military alliances are gathered for the first time at the table of negotiations on conventional armed forces illustrates the significance of ensuring greater military stability and a balance of forces at an ever lower level. The reduction of conventional weapons, of the armed forces and military spending is an imperative demand for Europe, a continent supersaturated from a military point of view both as regards fighting technique and the troops stationed. On the other hand, the sums earmarked for the maintenance and improvement of fighting means and conventional armed forces hold the greatest share in military spending as a whole.

Another consideration, and not the least one, regarding the highly opportune character of the Vienna negotiations is linked to the highly dangerous degree of conventional weapons following their steady improvement.

Just like other aspects of disarmament, the success of the current negotiations will depend on the way in which the negotiators approach the questions, given the realities, and on their political will to reach such accords as to meet the security interests of each party, of all the peoples on the continent. Practically speaking, each participating state can contribute to the success of negotiations provided that each one fully observes the other states' sovereignty and independence, their interests in security, and takes into account their proposals and points of view. President Nicolae Ceausescu underlined the need that all states, regardless of size or social system, especially the small and medium-sized countries, the developing and non-aligned countries that are directly interested in a policy of collaboration, independence and peace, should actively participate in the resolution of the complex problems of our days. In these conditions, the conventional disarmament negotiations can have a positive impact on the demarches in other spheres of the international life, given the important role the European continent plays in influencing the course of the international life.

The beginning of conventional disarmament negotiations confirms the conception of Romania which, inspired by a high sense of responsibility for the destiny of mankind, declares for a concomitant liquidation of nuclear and chemical weapons insisting that it should be accompanied by a substantial cut in conventional weapons. It is obvious that the disarmament question can be successfully solved only through a unitary approach of all its aspects, in harmony with the imperative of guaranteeing the right to peace and equal security to all states.

Romania has constantly worked to encourage military dialogue on the continent and a passage to concrete conventional disarmament measures. It proposed, alongside the other states participating in the Warsaw Treaty, the beginning of direct negotiations among the states in the two military alliances on the diminution of military allowances and the declaration of a 1-to-2-year moratorium on their increase. As is known, by consulting the Romanian people in 1986 Romania passed on to unilaterally cut conventional weapons and troops by 5 per cent and military spending by 10 per cent, calling upon the other states to follow the same way. Similar decisions, recently announced by a number of other socialist states, consolidate the pioner's action of Romania in this domain.

Ceausescu Meets Departing Albanian Ambassador

AU1403153889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1521 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 14/3/1989—Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received Tuesday, 14 March, the ambassador of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Zoi Toska, on a farewell call at the end of his mission in Bucharest.

During the interview reference was made to the ties of collaboration between Romania and Albania, and willingness was expressed to work for their further development, in the interests and for the benefit of both countries and peoples, of the cause of peace, understanding and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe and the world.

The Albanian ambassador warmly thanked President Nicolae Ceausescu for the support he was granted in fulfilling his mission in Romania.

Harmonious Development of Counties Noted

AU1103202289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1937 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/03/1989—The whole strategy of post-war Romania's development aims at building economic and social whole harmoniously structured by territorial units, apt to offer equal working and living opportunities to all the citizens of the country. To this end investment has mainly focused on building a powerful productive potential particularly in the previously less developed counties. Over 180 new industrial platforms created after 1965 have been sited in all the counties, leading to deep-going changes in their economic structure, a general growth in the country's standard of industrialization and smaller gaps in the level of economic development of the administrative-territorial units. While over the 1968-1988 interval the country's industrial output grew more than five times, in a number of counties the rate was much higher. For instance the growth was 18 times in Salaj County, more than 15 times in Bistrita Nasaud, some 11 times in Olt and Vaslui Counties, nine times in Vilcea, Calarasi and Tulcea, nearly seven times in Satu Mare and Harghita, etc. Currently each county has four to five industrial centres which bring together virtually most of the basic industrial branches under the national economy: machine building, petrochemistry, metallurgy, and the peak industrial subbranches which promote technological progress.

The policy of differentiating the economic growth by territorial units helped diminishing considerably the gaps among counties and stressing the process of making homogeneous the development of the forces of production throughout Romania. Also significant in this respect is the volume of economic activity carried out by he counties. While in 1968 the economic activity of as many as 29 counties amounted to 20 billion lei, 11 counties exceeded this ceiling and just one attained the 80 billion lei mark, currently all of Romania's counties have left behind the 20 billion ceiling, many of them attaining 60, 80 and even 100 billion lei marks. Of the country's 41 counties, as many as 39 currently record more than 80,000 lei worth of economic activity per inhabitant.

Expressing the profound economic changes manifest throughout the country, the level of employment has been improved continuously throughout the country. Late in 1987 it stood at 489 in one thousand inhabitants, and currently the number of industrial working people in one thousand inhabitants is nearly twice as large as in 1968. Many of the new jobs have been created as a result of industrial development in such counties as Bistrita-Nasaud, Botosani, Covasna, Dimbovita, Gorj, Salaj, Vaslui, Satu-Mare, Harghita, Vilcea, etc. Since late in 1986 the number of those employed in the industry, transports and construction has become dominant in all the areas and counties in the country. Thus, male and female workforce has been harmoniously used by territorial units, full equality being provided to all the citizens with a view to their ever wider assertion in the country's economic and social life.

In tight relation with the develolpment and modernization of material production in all the counties, the homogenization of the working and living conditions has been achieved also through the distribution of the material base for the social and cultural activities, by building homes and providing health care to the entire population. Thus, an ample programme concerning the development, updating and systematization of the urban and rural localities has been carried out in all the zones. Over the last 23 years the share of urban population has grown from 29.8 percent to more than 51 percent. High rates of urbanization have been recorded by Gorj, Harghita, Maramures, Covasna, Bistrita-Nasaud, Hunedoara, Caras-Severin, Alba, Salaj and Ialomita Counties, where the number of people has grown five to seven times.

Over the same interval about 3.4 million apartments have been built, as well as several hundred thousand houses, which has allowed 82 percent of Romania's population to live in new homes.

The amplitude of housing construction, which characterises the Romanian state's preoccupation to improve the living of all the citizens, irrespective of where they live or nationality, is proved also by the large number of homes built in such counties as Mures, Harghita, Covasna, where between 1966 and 1985 more than 140,000 apartments were built. Promoting this policy in the area of housing construction allowed Romania in 1987—the "year of the shelterless", according to the UN—to afford more than 7.5 million homes. Romania actually plans to solve the problem of housing for all its citizens by the year 1995.

In the range of multiple achievements of the socialist years also stands medical assistance, ensured by developing a modern sanitary network in each county. Currently there is a doctor in every 475 people, which compares favourably to and even is better than in many economically-advanced states.

Setting out from the principle "culture for the whole people" a powerful material base has been created throughout the country for cultural activities and education. In the country's 237 municiaplities and towns operate over 200 houses of culture, and in the rural areas nearly 7800 cultural clubs, over 10,000 libraries, numerous museums, cinema halls, and so on.

Spokesman on Albanian 'Aggressive Propaganda'

LD0903195989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1742 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 9 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government today made a firm demarche to the Albanian ambassador to Yugoslavia because of the way in which high Albanian officials speak, in their statements, of Yugoslav constitutional bodies and representatives.

These statements are contrary to currently valid international norms of conduct, Yugoslav Government spokesman Ivo Vajgl stated today.

At today's press conference in Belgrade, Ivo Vajgl did not speak in detail on Albania's aggressive propaganda offensive, stressing that at the present moment he was not prepared to open a polemic on strange stands of the Albanian side, which are not in keeping with what official Tirana recently stressed in Yugoslavia as its long-term approach and interest.

Spokesman Notes 'Deep Disagreement' With Iran

LD0903200289 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1745 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 9 (TANJUG)—In talks with Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i Yugoslavi officials stated arguments on the negative aspect of Khomeyni's "death threat" to British author Salman Rushdie, Yugoslav Federal Government spokesman Ambassador Ivo Vajgl told the press today.

Vajgl pointed out at the news conference that Yugoslavia believes that such a stating of views has perhaps even greater value than simply public verbal condemnation.

The point of departure of the talks with President Khamene'i was the Yugoslav public's deep disagreement with the action of the Iranian side, Vajgl cited.

Vajgl hoped that from everything that was officially said in Yugoslavia so far about this case, no one can question Yugoslavia's orientation and devotion to humanistic principles.

Brady Debt Plan Proposes 'Encouraging' Changes

AU1403130989 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
12 Mar 89 p 1

[Aleksandar Nenadovic report: "How To Reduce Debts"]

[Text] New York, 11 Mar—Analyzing the speech which Bush's treasury secretary Nicholas Brady delivered before the international financial elite of the Bretton Woods Association yesterday, the analysts here stress an encouraging long-term aim: Western powers, relying on Japan's colossal reserves, and the full and joint involvement of the World Bank and the IMF, should make more capital available to countries with excessive debts and in this way enable their, at present, mainly fragile and impotent national economies to grow faster.

In principle, this aim has never been disputed. One can, however, conclude from Brady's speech that a long awaited change in the West's attitude is before us: Instead of playing all the cards on the monetary pressure—which is to say to condition financial support with changes in the national economies of the debtor countries together with the obligatory and regular repayment of the principal and interest, regardless of social and other consequences—Washington now advocates, for the first time, the need for a reduction of debtors' liabilities.

Purchasing Debts

This should, according to the hitherto unspecified programs, be achieved in several ways. Two of them are, if the first impression is correct, the most significant. Both are in favor of gradual but inevitable changes on the creditors' side, primarily commercial banks' side.

The banks are above all expected to sign agreements which would facilitate the purchase of foreign debts at the prices set at the free capital market. The purchase, in which the debtor countries could also take part, can, of course, be only successful if the reduction in the size of a debt is sufficiently attractive.

Reducing Interest Rates

At present, as far as financial laymen are concerned, the methods of achieving this are the least clear, or the least certain. Nevertheless, what is certain is the basic assumption which, judging by the first assessments of Brady's theses, is considered to be realistic: Creditors prefer security. They prefer to get back as much as possible by reducing the value of invested capital, through repurchasing at lower prices, rather than to push their debtors toward the edge of an abyss by repeating their excessive demands and in this way run the risk of losing everything.

The other way to alleviate the burden of debts is less complicated although, all in all, it is not less important: There is an indication that there may be a reduction in the interest rates on new loans. In the economically exhausted world of debtors, this concession has been demanded and awaited for a long time. If this now happens, this could be one of the most important changes in international economic relations—at least as far as developing countries are concerned. It remains to be seen whether this will really take place.

The first reaction by the representatives of some most powerful U.S. banks also induced some encouraging assessments. Although cautiously, they nevertheless sufficiently clearly stated that the change announced by the Bush Administration suits them in principle, probably because the banking world is expecting specific agreements on guarantees, primarily between Washington and Tokyo, and then from other governments of the strongest western economic powers.

The principle is still the same: It is more prudent to accept a smaller but safe return, than to wait for a bigger return which is exposed to unforeseeable risks. In other words, creditors will agree to reduce interest rates and will accept more modest profits in return for long-term guarantees on their investments.

The Tactics of "Case By Case" Remain

The reason for creditors' greater confidence in such guarantees by banks, at least in the United States, lies in, one could say, an indirect promise by the Bush Administration that it will try to increase its contribution to the IMF. In order to induce others to do the same, the Bush Administration, of course, has to contribute more itself.

According to the current forecasts, the capital of the IMF should increase by approximately 50 percent, from the present $55 billion to $80 billion.

With all respect for the potential scope of the announced encouraging changes, that is to say the revision of the so-called Baker plan, one must nevertheless bear in mind the things that remain unchanged, despite the fact that they are still very controversial in the world of debtors. This primarily refers to the sources of finance, the method of using interest rates in the future and other concessions. The mainstay is still private capital, and the more suitable solutions for debtors will still have to be found on a case by case basis, in other words, not collectively through institutions, but on an individual basis, as has been the case up to now.

'Encouraging' Trade, Economic Trends Seen

LD1103121289 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0132 GMT 11 Mar 89

["Ecopool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 11 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's trade with the world over the first two months of the year deviated to a certain extent from forecasts, but the results achieved have nevertheless besides securing the country's current liquidity also created a number of basic conditions for more favourable economic developments.

In this context must be stressed an unhindered float of the industry of supplies of raw materials and semimanufactures, as well as a possibility for enterprises to be granted the right to an early buying-up of debts from foreign creditors.

Commodity exports in the first two months of the year reached a value of 1.714 billion dollars, 7.5 per cent more than in the same period in 1988. Growth was somewhat faster than the 4.9 per cent annual rate originally planned.

More encouraging to the economy is data indicating an extremely dynamic increase in imports, whose "inflow" has already shown a positive influence on the growth of production. Imports were namely 12.4 per cent higher than in the same period last year, but it should be noted that this growth was calculated with a rather low accounting basis, as the January-February 1988 imports were 1.2 per cent lower than in the same period of 1987.

It is thus quite realistic to expect Yugoslavia's imports to keep in step with the planned growth rate of 10.9 per cent. Preliminary data show Yugoslavia to have imported goods worth 1.841 billion dollars in the first two months of 1989.

Yugoslavia's trade with the convertible currency area was far more dynamic than expected. Exports grew by 10.3 per cent, as compared with a planned annual growth rate of 4.3 per cent, while imports jumped by 25.5 per cent, compared with the planned fugure of 9.4 per cent.

The boost in exports to the convertible currency area could well represent a good oportunity for an early buying-up of debts from foreign creditors—the Yugoslav Assembly recently promulgated changes in the law on credit relations with foreign countries which stipulate that firms achieving exports higher than planned could use the funds thus earned for an early buying-up of debts.

In contrast to the positive trends in the trade with the convertible currency markets, problems continue to be experienced in the exchange with the clearing payment area concerning Yugoslavia's large trade surplus.

Imports from this region fell by as much a 23.8 per cent—as compared to a foreseen growth 16.1 per cent—precipitating a reduction in Yugoslavia's exports to the area by 1.8 per cent.

The unfavorable trends were also due to the fact that the protocol on commodity lists with the Soviet Union, which accounts for fully 80 per cent of Yugoslavia's trade with the clearing payment area, was signed only at the end of February.

Now that the protocol has been signed, however, economists and businessmen expect trade to shift to a far more harmonious gear already in March.

Mikulic Meets Canadian Firms on Nickel Mining

LD1003223289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1930 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 10 (TANJUG)—The talks Yugoslav Premier Branko Mikulic held with representatives of Canadian companies Falcon Bridge and CCID today focused on the possibilities of renewing production in the ferronickel complex Feni in the Yugoslav town of Kavadarci.

Falcon Bridge is the second leading producer of nickel in the world.

Feni, once the greatest investment enterprises in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, was closed down four years ago because its debts had reached over 250 million dollars. Only 250 of its former 2300 employees now work in the complex. Their only job is to maintain equipment, which is one of the most modern in the world.

Mikulic also discussed with Falcon Bridge and CCID representatives the possible engagement of their companies in certain investment projects in Yugoslavia.

Suvar Addresses Kumrovec Conference on Reform

AU1003204789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Even the thesis about Yugoslavia (?turning into a Kosovo) is being exaggerated, observations about Kosovo being the subject of all the political and party gatherings in the country may be correct. The Kumrovec gathering also did not take place without mentioning it today. At this gathering, members of the Federal Commission for Party Reform, together with a gathering of scientific workers, analyzed the third version of a document on the transformation of the LC.

Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, also spoke in Kumrovec. You will hear the following portion of his speech:

[Begin Suvar recording] In this we must demonstrate that we are fully open to new perceptions, and therefore that this document is open. We must take into account that it is not the conclusion but the beginning of a general party discussion. This general party discussion must offer the foundations for the drafting of the document that we will present to the 14th LCY Congress. It particularly concerns the party. The 14th Congress will then change many things.

This, this [Suvar stutters] document, such as it is now, is not as bad as some make it out to be. We cannot consistently promote only a single current or a single view in it. The questions about the party have been aggravated to such an extent that, in my opinion, a redefinition of the LC role will be the chief point of conflict in the LCY before the congress and at the congress. We must comprehend this. In the LC itself, we must ensure an atmosphere favoring a struggle of opinions and democratic decisionmaking.

We spoke here of what kind of socialism we want. (Mile Lorger) and others say that this is a list of nice wishes. Many, many [Suvar stutters] of you have expressed criticism saying that we did not explain problems of the epoch in this document and Oreskovic listed them. We may explain these problems of the epoch at the theoretical level in a new or a revised LCY program, and may adopt a decision at the 14th congress. This does not mean, however, that here in this document we should avoid what we may write down at this time.

However, ideological, ideological [Suvar stutters] struggles are great. We have all comprehended, we all feel deeply within ourselves, how differently we as individuals and as the party think only in the past few months or a year, and how much we have had to change our convictions, not the deep convictions, but practical views, practical views about one thing or another. Life changes, and there is the pressure of both social elemental forces and of what the LC does not succeed in mastering. Since it does not succeed, it does not succeed in changing anything else.

We all know that, that [Suvar stutters] there will be no more progress of socialism in this country and that it can only deteriorate unless we make some deep changes. Let us call them reform, let us call them renewal of socialism, let us call them a continuation of the revolution: these changes must take place. [end recording]

Ante Markovic Proposes FEC Reorganization

AU1303162189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] At a meeting of the Committee for Sociopolitical Relations of the SFRY Assembly, Premier-designate Ante Markovic proposed a reorganization of the government and the federal administrative organs. The delegates agreed to be the initiators of the process of adopting the two laws, which regulate this issue, through an emergency procedure at the session of the Federal Chamber scheduled for 15-16 March. According to this proposal the new FEC would have 19 instead of 29 members. Here is a report by Olivija Rusovac:

[Rusovac] In addition to a reduction in the number of the members of the government by almost one third, all six federal committees and two secretariats—the secretariats for information and economy—will also be abolished. Six new secretariats will be established. Therefore, there will be a total of 12 secretariats: The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, for National Defense, for Internal Affairs, for Finances, Economic Relations With Other Countries, Trade, Energy and Industry, Transportation and Communications, Agriculture, Development, then the Federal Secretariat for Labor, Health, Veterans' Affairs, and Social Policy, and finally the Federal Secretariat for Legislature and Administration.

Premier-designate Ante Markovic explained the motives for the transformation of the FEC and state administration.

[Begin Markovic recording] We must carry out such a transformation of the state which would transfer the powers and rights of the state on individuals and the market itself. In other words, we need to transfer them from the sphere of the political system onto the institutions of the economic system. [end recording]

Facing the dilemma as to whether to form a government according to the existing laws or to form the FEC in view of the forthcoming changes, Ante Markovic, who again presented himself as a very interesting person, used the first opportunity to choose the latter. He opted for a smaller more efficient team of people who would be linked by the same ideas. He also chose a smaller number of secretariats which would enjoy a high degree of autonomy and be more accountable to the assembly.

The principle of parity used in electing the members of the FEC will be abolished, although, according to Markovic, all republics and provinces will be represented, but not to the same extent.

The principle of a unanimous vote applied in adopting ordinances [podzakonski akt] will also be abolished. Inter-republican committees will be scrapped because they are an expression of the consensus economy.

The delegates welcomed all the proposed solutions. They wanted to know whether the reduction in the number of the FEC members will mean a reduction in the staff of the state administration stressing that without a radical reform of the state administration the FEC will not be able to realize the intentions of the premier-designate. They also suggested that the setting up of a federal organ for environmental protection also be considered.

Replying to delegates' questions and suggestions, Ante Markovic said that this is the first attempt to create a modern government which must be, just like the assembly, Yugoslav oriented, otherwise there would be no way out.

Budget Set at 20.6 Trillion Dinars

LD1403212889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1925 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 14 (TANJUG)—This year's federal budget expenditure of 20.6-trillion dinars (one US dollar equals 7,674.9 dinars)—165 per cent up on the 1988 figure—was allocated among the beneficiaries by the Assembly Federal Chamber's committee for the budget of the federation on Tuesday.

The largest single beneficiaries are the Yugoslav People's Army, the underdeveloped republics and the province of Kosovo, retired war veterans and army pensioners.

Budget reserves are estimated at 25 billion dinars and liabilities carried over from earlier years at about 94 billion.

Contributions to the federal budget from the six republics and the two autonomous provinces amount to 2.42 trillion dinars—875 billion less than originally proposed by the federal government, to be made up by the federation out of various taxes and duties.

Expenditure for the Yugoslav People's Army this year is 14.6 trillion dinars, i.e., 4.9 per cent of the social product and about 430 billion dinars less than under formerly assumed obligations. The army expenditure is 179.9 per cent larger than last year and accounts for 71.2 per cent of total federal budget.

Additional funds for the underdeveloped republics and the Kosovo province will total 1.619 trillion dinars. This year's expenditure is 157 per cent up on last year's figure and accounts for 7.8 per cent of total federal budget.

The third-largest share of budget expenditure is for retired war veterans and army pensioners—1.105 trillion and 1.086 trillion dinars, respectively. A total of 610 billion dinars was allocated for disability pensions. Money for the pensioners of other categories is allocated from social insurance funds and not from the federal budget.

Expenditure to finance the work of the federal organs is 1.292 trillion dinars—113 per cent more than last year and 6.2 per cent of the federal budget.

The work of socio-political and social organizations is also financed from the federal budget to the amount of 40 billion dinars.

TANJUG Examines Growing Party Pluralism

LD0603210489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1527 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 6 (TANJUG)—Political monolithism as a trait of post-war Yugoslavia, created in the storm of revolution on the ruins of the monarchy, now faces an unprecedented challenge, with Communists getting an increasingly loud and ambitious competition.

Political associations, alliances or committees are appearing with programs that clearly show that they are present or future political parties.

The process is limited to the country's northern republics, Slovenia and Croatia, where it enjoys the silent support of Communist leaderships.

The political and economic crisis is forcing leading Communists into action in which differences of opinion can no longer be masked.

Events, mainly the counter-revolution in Kosovo, resulted in two concepts for overcoming the crisis.

Slovenia and Croatia stress the need for "further democratising Yugoslavia," that further strengthening of "distinctive national features" includes the appearance of political parties as an obvious concession to ever-present Western wishes to turn Yugoslavia into a multi-party state.

Serbia's political leadership urges continuing socialism with a united (single) party, but with a new, morally clean leadership, and returning to greater homogeneity in all of Yugoslavia and a liberal economy.

The Serbian leadership's tendencies are viewed as neo-Stalinism in Ljubljana and Zagreb and some prominent Slovenians even said their republic "will not remain in that kind of Yugoslavia."

The tense situation is difficult to resolve, but perhaps the Communists could call a special congress and openly resolve all disputed ideological and practical questions, including the multi-party option.

Democracy Feared To Be 'Distant Dream'

AU0703164989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 89 p 11

[Reprint of OSLOBODJENJE commentary by Gojko Beric: "Democracy or Dream"]

[Text] Today no wise politician would publicly speak before putting his hand on the "Bible of democracy." Democracy has become a metaphor of "general accord" as well as of wide discord and different understanding of the essence of changes in Yugoslav society. The process of new political groupings culminated recently with the founding of the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance, the first independent political party in the country, a country in eastern and southern parts of which the LC is demonstrating its democracy by excommunicating those with different views and through the "introduction of people into politics."

National euphoria, manifested in different ways and for different reasons, is characteristic of both of these antipode ideological tracks, whose irreconcilable natures were illustrated by engineer France Tomsic, leader of the Social Democrats, who said that "no communist party has gotten into power through free elections, but through violent revolutions," and that "all communist parties have abolished the multiparty system, and thus democracy."

It remains to be seen how many new believers will be attracted by the program which breaths, among other things, the spirit of exclusiveness and even hostility toward the communist system. However, it is certain that the Slovenes will not easily discard the new forms of political organization, especially because the green light was given by the party leadership, which accepts political pluralism in its community as inevitable, "because we cannot wait for those who still need the Communist Party of the 1950's."

If the Slovene ideas spread to other parts of the country, which is not unrealistic, it could happen that in the near future, instead of the one-party "dictatorship of the proletariat," we would have the multiparty dictatorship of the Balkan type. Both models of political relations in Yugoslavia's multinational community have, however, already been tested. The first had a tragic outcome, while the second has confirmed its historic obsolence.

The blame for a possible new historic chaos will be borne by the LC, whose plenums increasingly resemble a multiparty struggle for power. Divided according to republics and nationality, obsessed with power over people and social trends, as well as confused by new thinking, the LC has not demonstrated ability to solve the most difficult postwar crisis in our country. Its lack of readiness to accept political pluralism, based on the experience of self-management as an inevitability in a historic turnabout toward democratic socialism, can perhaps only be explained by fear of the restoration of a bourgeois society, nonparty and direct democracy, and a loss of its own self-controlled power.

Can the 2 million members of the party be the only planners and architects of the "towns of the future" for the remaining 22 million Yugoslavs, noncommunists, atheists, and believers? Hesitating to answer this question, the LC is pushing itself toward the margins of politics. The new "battle for power" from this position can only bear fruit with the return to the "enlightened" state socialism, which has left its deep and bitter traces in many communities. In this kind of socialism, democracy would became only one more distant dream.

Relationship Between Nations, State Viewed

AU0803132389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Mar 89 p 2

[Z. Huber commentary: "A Cynical Surrogate State"]

[Text] "Serbs are in a minority in Kosovo, and without their security, freedom, and equality there is no stability, togetherness, and peace in Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia. It is the duty of the Albanian majority to provide them with this."

This idea—which has had many different forms—about the protective obligations of the majority national collectivities was repeated by Milan Kucan at the meeting in the Cankar Hall. Although this demand was also interpreted as some kind of pleading for good interethnic relations, one cannot overlook the inadequacy of an idea which puts such elementary categories as people's security, freedom, and equality, and which concern every organized state community, into the context of interethnic relations.

It sounds bitter and perhaps cynical, but it is like this: If we know which stage the interethnic relations in Yugoslavia are at and how much mutual intolerance and conflict there is, then it is almost certain that the security of the members of one nation will be badly provided for if the main concern for this is given to the members of another nation. In this case, the state must definitely be older than the nation.

Unfortunately, political, historical, economic, cultural, and even irrationally atavistic reasons can—and this is happening to us now—seriously distort relations between the different ethnic and religious communities within one society. However, if that society also has reasons to continue to function as a whole and if the desire to preserve the state community really exists—we still believe that both conditions exist for the great majority of Yugoslavs—then the mainstay of people's security, freedom, and equality must be sought in mechanisms whose spiritus movens is not by definition nacion and etnikum, but the person, the inhabitant, and the citizen. People do not belong to an organized state community only as Slovenes, Albanians, or Serbs, but as individuals whose freedom and security should be assured at a level which rises above their own or some other national collectivity.

Any different view of people's security, freedom, and equality which is not on the level of the concept of a legal state—about which a lot has recently been said in Slovenia—in fact means, in our almost bloody interethnic relations, an increase in insecurity among people. Good intentions aside, Balkan as well as other nations have not shown themselves to be particularly reliable protectors of the freedom of other nations. Whether we want to or not, if the national collectivities within the Yugoslav state community are the basic guarantors of people's security, freedom, and equality, then everyone will be the most secure, most free, and most equal within the framework of their own nation.

But what then happens to Yugoslavia?

Milosevic Explains Publication of Speeches

LD1103205189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1029 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—"Years of Solutions" is the title of a book of selected speeches by Slobodan Milosevic, which has just been published by the Belgrade Publishing and Printing Institute (BIGZ). The book contains a selection of speeches and public addresses delivered by Slobodan Milosevic from 1984 until now; the last speech included was at the Kosovo political aktiv in February 1989 in Pristina.

In his preface to this book Slobodan Milosevic says: "I decided to publish this book for political and personal reasons. Political, because I hope that the publication of these speeches will be a small contribution to the understanding of political events in the past years of growing crisis in Yugoslav society. These are at the same time years of struggle for the equality of Serbia in the Yugoslav federation, for resolving the Kosovo issue, and for halting the last exodus on European soil. As far as my personal reasons are concerned, I am ready to place at the public's disposal most of what I have said in the past years and thus provide authentic documents to those who agree with me and those who do not, so that the ideas and messages for which I do not deserve credit, however good, are not attributed to me. But also, so that the ideas and messages I advocated are not neglected just because they are good. I sincerely hope that this book will contribute to efforts to achieve socialism as rich society."

The reviewers of the book, printed in 15,000 copies, were Academicians Desanka Maksimovic and Kosta Mihailovic. It is believed that the book will soon be reprinted because of the interest it has already received.

Further Reportage on Kosovo Mine Unrest

Officials Speak to Strikers

AU1303144389 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 10 Mar 89 p 9

[M.K. report: "Commitment to Togetherness Can Only Be Shown by Labor"]

[Text] Three or 4 days ago, including Sunday [5 March], the miners here worked with extra energy, and this was a cheering and encouraging sign. Yesterday, no work was done at all at this mine, where two meetings were held. At the morning meeting, more than 20 miners spoke and presented the demands of February's strike, while in the afternoon, when Nazmi Mustafa and Nebih Gashi came among them, only one miner spoke.

Yesterday, the miners of the third shift at the Goles mine at Magura, near Lipljan, stopped work as soon as they emerged from the shaft at 0700. They were joined by 130 others from the first shift, who should have started work, and also by those of the second shift. At a gathering in the large hall of the mine, they presented their earlier demands. The mine managers attempted in vain to persuade them that matters cannot be solved by such gatherings and work stoppages. Nazmi Mustafa, president of the Kosovo Assembly Executive Council, and Nebih Gashi, member of the Kosovo Presidency, spoke to them. Nazmi Mustafa began by saying that such meetings should be held within the framework of legal institutions, and not in this fashion, and then reminded them that the situation in Kosovo cannot allow gatherings outside the system's institutions and that we must be aware of the consequences of such acts. We have not come to talk to you about demands of any kind. This does not mean that we have closed your mouths, for we can talk whenever you like, but only within institutional organizations, and not at a work stoppage. If anybody has organized this, they must answer for it and think on their own. You must realize that the law of reason operates in our democratic society, and you must know that you cannot behave in the mine as if it were a private house. I ask you, in the most humane way, to return to work, because your and our aims and successes can only be achieved through labor. There must be appreciation for labor, and there must be order in this collective, in which, as we know, the plan was exceeded last year. Those that assert that the entire Albanian nationality is supposedly being blamed for every evil must realize that there have been no such views expressed about the Albanians in any forum, and not in the SFRY Presidency. Your protest cannot be viewed as anything other than a political protest, and this means that you have violated the special measures taken by the Presidency. You earlier stated yourselves to be in favor of brotherhood and unity and Tito's Yugoslavia, but you can show that commitment only through labor. The best solution is for you to start work, Nazmi Mustafa said at the end of his speech, adding that miners could speak if they wished.

Only Shaban Nuredini, aged 53, took the floor, and called for immediate measures against irredentism. If I am an irredentist, he shouted, I want them to shoot me at once, but I do not want them to call me what I am not. Silence fell on the hall after this miner's speech.

Then Nebih Gashi spoke. He began by saying that he had heard the news of the work stoppage with regret. After talking about the special measures and the success they had achieved in preventing disruption in Kosovo and the country at large, he pointed out that no single collective in Kosovo can become the cause of disruption. We are all in favor of life taking its normal course, for this is the only way that we can seal our common destiny with the Serbs and Montenegrins. It is therefore your duty not to let anybody manipulate you, and you must realize that the whole of society is mobilized to emerge from the situation in which we find ourselves and to return to life on normal lines. It is your duty, Nebih Gashi went on to say, not to allow yourselves to be provoked and spoken ill of, for it is only by labor that you can set a good example. Anything else leads to disaster.

After Nebih Gashi's speech, Nazmi Mustafa again spoke to the miners and other workers, and asked them to start work, but they left the hall in silence and did not work during the second shift either.

Stari Trg Strike Situation

LD1403181389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1634 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—About 130 Stari Trg miners have been sitting in the canteen since last night, not making any demands. Over 200 miners failed to turn up for work at the Lisnica and Novo Brdo mines without any justification. Some 130 Goles miners arrived at work this morning and refused to go down to the pits. They returned home after talks with officials of the municipality and members of the management board. Out of 30 employed Albanian workers, 23 failed to turn up for work at the Kopaonik mines.

Individual employees at some organizations of associated labor in the province have started "monitoring" the attitude of miners. This morning some 120 workers of the Tefik Canga wood combine basic organization of associated labor in Urosevac went on strike. The cause was "solidarity" with the Stari Trg miners. A group of workers at the iron and tools factory in this city also went on strike for about 40 minutes this morning. Their reason was not directly connected with other demands.

About 70 Albanian workers of the Metalac work organization in Gnjilane also went on strike this morning for a short period. Some time later 35 Serbs and Montenegrins also stopped work. They all returned to work later on. About 50 workers at the textile industry in this city went on strike for a period of 7-10 hours.

Work also stopped briefly at a Ramiz Sadiku construction site in Pristina.

'Temporary Measures' in Pristina

LD1403144289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1252 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Summary] Pristina, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—The Pristina Municipal Assembly has passed a decision to introduce temporary measures in the work organization of the Kisnica and Novo Brdo mines and flotation plant where some workers of Albanian nationality are still refusing to go down the pits. Mining engineer Redzo Dervisevic has been appointed head of the temporary management organ.

Croatian Union Collects Money

AU0803164689 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Mar 89 p 7

[TANJUG report: "Savings Account for Kosovo Miners Closed"]

[Text] Zagreb, 2 Mar—According to a statement issued by the Croatian Trade Union today, the savings account which, as stated, the Council of the Croatian Trade Unions opened at the requests of workers, citizens and trade union organizations on 27 February for humanitarian reasons "in solidarity with all Kosovo miners and their families," has been closed.

Up until 28 February 1989, 57,670,00 [figure as published] dinars were deposited into the account, and the Council of Croatian Trade Unions will remit all the money that had been deposited for this purpose through 3 March.

Albanian Separatists Planning Demonstrations

LD1403155889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1502 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—The order by the Kosovo Secretariat for Internal Affairs banning gatherings in the province is being observed. Not a single major threat to public facilities has been recorded but there has been written and verbal propaganda against the SFRY presidency's special measures, Slobodan Tadijin, deputy federal secretary for internal affairs, stressed at today's session of the SFRY Assembly's Committee for Internal Policy which met to consider the implementation of the special measures in Kosovo.

It has been discovered, he said, that the Albanian separatists and nationalists are planning throughout March to organize demonstrations by women and children against whom, in their view, the security organs would not use force. These demonstrations are planned to coincide with a session of the provincial assembly at which the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia are expected to be adopted; with a session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee at which the resignations of Kosovo officials are to be considered; with the anniversary of March demonstrations in 1981; and with the celebrations to mark the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo Polje.

Kosovo Body Urges Implementation of Measures

AU0803165489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Mar 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Measures Must Be Implemented"]

[Text] Pristina, 2 Mar— After the introduction of the SFRY Presidency's special measures in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo, the Committee for All People's Defense and Self-Protection of the SAP of Kosovo yesterday held its third extraordinary session to assess the political and security situation in the province caused by recent events.

It was concluded that the situation in Kosovo is very serious and complicated and that it requires full and responsible involvement by primarily the LC and other sociopolitical organizations, state organs, and all individuals who are members of social self-protection and security organs in order to protect the constitutional system, public peace and order, the personal safety and security of all citizens, and the safety of personal and social property—especially in those objects which are of importance for the functioning of the economy in the entire province and the normalization of work of all organs in the economy and the social sector.

The Kosovo Committee for All People's Defense and Self-Protection, as reported, obliges all provincial Committees for All People's Defense and Self-Protection to implement responsibly and in disciplined manner all the measures of the SFRY Presidency. The political and security situation must be assessed as a whole, from all aspects, every day, in all the communes, associated labor organizations, local communities, and all institutions in the province.

The measures which are being undertaken must correspond to the complexity of the situation in certain communities and must try to prevent the worsening of the situation and serve the stabilization of the general situation in the province.

The stabilization of the situation primarily requires an organized and broad political action, while all political and legal measures must be taken against all those irresponsible.

The Kosovo Committee for All People's Defense and Self-Protection is of the opinion that political work should be implemented primarily in cooperation with the workers class and youth, as well as all the working people and citizens of Kosovo.

At present, the top priority task concerning the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo is to ensure the normal production and regular lessons in all schools and universities.

The Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and the Presidency of the SAP of Kosovo bear the greatest responsibility for the implementation of the SFRY Presidency's measures. They make a plea to all working people and citizens to, through their work and political activities, contribute to a faster normalization of the situation in Kosovo.

Candidates Named for Pristina Presidium

LD1003230389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—Today's session of the Pristina LC Municipal Committee registered as candidates for the new president of the Presidium of the LC Municipal Committee the following: Dr Gani Jasari, executive secretary of this committee; and Dr Skender Karahoda, president of the action conference of Pristina University. This post became vacant following the irrevocable resignation of Husamedin Azemi, which was submitted under pressure exerted by the Trepca miners.

Today Azemi repeated in his short speech that he tendered the resignation for humane and humanitarian reasons, and not because of responsibility or guilt.

The session formed a work group which will, in accordance with the conclusions of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, assess the work of each member of the Presidium of the Pristina LC Municipal Committee, executive secretaries, and members of commissions of the committee; and establish individual and collective responsibility. As has been announced, this task should be completed by 25 March.

Morina Addresses Pristina Political Aktiv

LD1003234989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1635 GMT 10 Mar 89

["Rahman Morina's speech to the Pristina political aktiv"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Pristina, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—The present knowledge and evidence, which are not yet complete, of what has been happening in the name of humanity during 8 days in February while the Stari Trg miners and others were in the pits, indicates that a well thought-out action against humanity, dignity, and people was in question. Unfortunately, not only miners and other workers succumbed to its influence, but also many Communists in important sociopolitical, economic, and other posts.

Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, stressed this among other things in his speech to the Pristina political aktiv.

Besides the reason for expressing the real fear for the destiny of the miners, I hope, Morina said, that it is clear to many citizens, and above all to LC members, and also to the international public, what dangerous games for the constitutional set-up, peace, and tranquillity of all our country's citizens were played, and what disinformation was put forward to create a certain impression among the public.

According to Morina, it is obvious that attempts to paralyze economic and social life in the province were in question. This was the special and most difficult pressure on the leadership of the province, the SR of Serbia, and the federation to accept unacceptable political demands, and to question the implementation of the task established by the LCY for the final stabilization of the situation in Kosovo.

Morina first recalled the gensis of the November and February events in Kosovo in connection with the realization of the conclusions of the 17th session and the warning measures to the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC and its Presidium. The committee and its presidium were obliged to establish the individual responsibility of their members for the failure to carry out the established tasks, Morina said. What was lacking was resolute action for realizing unity in the Kosovo LC and its organs in the struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism. There was indecision, delays, and an opportunistic and noncritical approach to realizing clearly established tasks, especially those concerning responsibility, which was a prerequisite for further work. A logic of anticipation became dominant, which both in the leadership itself and also further afield created an incorrect impression that the moves which would follow were extorted at the request of the Serbian LC Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee, and that these were unfounded, Morina stressed.

Individuals from the LC leadership contributed to efforts to create the unfavorable political climate, and some public media also created the conviction that there were no grounds for establishing responsibility, that a campaign was allegedly staged against the leadership and the Albanian nationality in Kosovo, and that new facts were needed.

When concrete responsibility had to be established last November, Morina went on, mass protest gatherings and demonstrations took place. This was also illustrated by the events which ensued, up to the present. The constitutional changes and resistance to the realization of conclusions on Kosovo were brought to the fore. Objectively speaking, all this represents further pressure on the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, and leads to even greater divisions among the people.

Talking about the constitutional changes, Morina stressed that through patient work a solution has been found which provides that the SR of Serbia carries out necessary state functions on its entire territory, but also provides for consistent realisation of autonomy on territories which are part of the SR of Serbia and which are constituent members of the federation.

Claims about denying the rights of the province and reducing the rights of Albanians are arbitrary and false, and so anxiety about them is unfounded. As a result of the lack of political work with the masses many falsehoods, disinformation, and fears of some alleged subordination of the province existed, so people in some environments throught that the constitutional changes would threaten them. The fear was, in fact, spread by those who did not need changes, because they are satisfied with the high standard and privileges which they enjoy daily. Even today they turn workers against the workers' interests. An increasing number of the people now realize that those who persuaded the people that the changes are not necessary were cheating the people. But, Morina stressed, everyone can now be reassured that the changes were necessary, and that no one will be threatened if they read the Constitution. For that reason we are under an obligation to do everything to complete this job as soon as possible and successfully, Morina said.

The renewed provincial leadership embarked immediately on specific activities. However, Morina added, when the Communists should have been mobilized for resolving important problems, when a differentiation in the LC and other sociopolitical organizations in Kosovo should have been carried out, at the time when we should have split from those who were against a change in the status quo in Kosovo, and when we should have resolutely implemented the LCY Central Committee conclusions, there was a total deadlock in the work, as well as the November protests and demonstrations of citizens of Albanian nationality.

Morina stressed that resistance and opposition to realistic assessments of the causes and effects of these events, methods of organizing, and aims which they wanted to achieve came from those who wanted to protect bureaucratic and excessive careerist behavior, and who also wanted to protect themselves from the consequences of their involvement in the November events, as a result of either their own opportunist attitude or their direct involvement in the events.

As a result of this, we have the situation of this February, in which primarily the role of all those who were prominent in organizing, instigating or tacitly approving the November events was highlighted.

Any communist and citizen who desires and wants can see for himself/herself that all these activities were well organized and that the organizers created dissatisfaction among the people very deliberately over a longer period and through using above all the LC's inactivity to exploit the dissatisfaction for their aims afterward, Morina said. We were involved in a situation in which any communist or citizen who openly or in argued manner presented facts about the nationalist activity among a nation or nationality to which he/she belonged, was discredited and condemned, which objectively stopped the process of ideopolitical differentiation. For that reason we can condemn not the people and the working class, but those who led the Kosovo LC and those who were in other prominent posts, and who divided the nations and nationalities of Kosovo by their behavior, Rahman Morina stressed at today's meeting of the Pristina political aktiv.

Having recalled that the resignations demanded were submitted mainly for humanitarian reaons and considering that the appeals by the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium for the miners to end the strike and return to normal work were not observed, Morina said:

"Now it is clear that basically everything was designed for the leadership to leave, with which the LCY policy—which had only just begun to be implemented intensively—also would leave. I assume that the same would happen if anyone else became the president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, and he or she started to be active in the same way. Very dangerous phenomena came into existence. Instead of those who do not implement the party stances, who misinform the public, and who cause fear concerning the constitutional changes being called to account and being replaced, responsibility is demanded from those who carry out their tasks responsibly."

It is also clear that strong forces were on the scene in whose interest it was for the LCY policy, action program, stances, and tasks concerning the November events not be implemented, Morina stressed. They want to halt everything with the replacement of the most responsible people in the party leadership. The resistance came into existence precisely when they realized that the stances and conclusions on Kosovo were going to be implemented energetically. Determination of the renewed leadership to implement the LCY policy frightened these individuals, who realized that they were losing their positions and that the success of the LC's action is, simultaneously, their end. In this we recognize clearly the struggle for the preservation of old relations, the power struggle, careerism, opportunistic policy, and enemy.

Unfortunately, said Morina, there is not always a great deal of understanding in some parts of the country for the correct moves we are taking. This greatly hinders and paralyzes our work and leads to anticipation and calculations.

Only a few hours after the introduction of special measures in Kosovo, a meeting was held in Ljubljana which failed to give support to their introduction. The fate of Albanians in Kosovo was equated with the fate of the Jews. The Star of David was abused, the symbol of sufferings and destruction of one nation. Who, in fact, needs all this when we know what is happening in Kosovo? Why are Albanians not given support so they can persevere in the just struggle against their own nationalism, wondered Morina?

Even the top Slovene officials are not saying that the miners were led to the pit by separatists and nationalists, but that they were forced to it by "great necessity." Their message is that the miners' demands are justified although, in fact, they were contrary to the political assessments and stands on Kosovo.

We would have understood all this concern had the miners gone on strike because they were on the verge of existence, because they earned three times less than the Slovene ones and because they could not feed their large families. However, through the mediation of the miners unacceptable demands were put forward and what is even more sad, it was stated at this meeting in Ljubljana that it could be seen in Trepca "who cares about human dignity and who cares for power."

I really wish to say, most sincerely, that I do not care about power. There are even conclusions of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, which specify how one should discuss my resignation. Therefore, there is no question of the miners having been cheated by my resignation, Morina said.

This is the decisive struggle for the line of the LCY, Kosovo, and all of Yuguslavia, Morina stressed. It would be a defeat if the already set LCY policy on Kosovo was to be stopped. The whole LCY should persist on this. If these stands and conclusions were not carried out it would spell disaster for Albanians and, of course, for Serbs, Montenegrins, and others who live here.

The decision made by the SFRY Presidency, Morina stressed, was accepted by the majority of the Kosovo population as a sign of determination to halt all the things which threaten the constitutional order of the SFRY and of the fact that nobody could be allowed to play with the fate of Yugoslavia.

Work has now been resumed in most work organizations and educational institutions, as all the forms of protest gatherings have come to an end. Sessions of municipal committees, basic LC organizations, and LC action conferences are being held. There are, however, still those who are attempting to engage workers in direct confrontation while the special measures are being in force.

Morina recalled that the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium has called on the competent organs to carry out all the legal measures against the organizers and activists of the behind-the-scene policy in Kosovo who used pressure and even endangered the lives and health of the Stari Trg miners in order to achieve their goals on the course of the policy against the LC and the SFRY.

The recent events expressed a resistance to the policy of the LCY and an attempt to disable its consistent implementation. Therefore, we maintain that the LC's efforts to work among people, workers, and the youth should be urgently intensified, Rahman Monrina stressed.

The most important things are correct interpretation of LC policy, the prevention of divisions on a national basis, uncovering counterrevolutionary aims and slogans of Albanian nationalism and separatism, which also attempted these days to paralyze economic and political life in Kosovo and create a dangerous troublespot, destabilizing the SFRY, Morina said.

At the same time, struggle against the other forms of nationalist activity is also indispensable, as is the one against creating an anti-Albanian or anti-Serbian atmosphere, while at the same time one should fight to ensure security and a life of peace for all the people in Kosovo. Morina pointed to the obligation of all organizations and structures, and of the communists and management structures in the organizations of associated labor to assess immediately the pretext, the causes and the aims of the work stoppages, and to consider their own responsibility, and also to start a broad political action aimed at overcoming the given situation. To this effect all the ideopolitical and similar mesasure should be immediately carried out, including cadre changes, Morina said.

He recalled the determination of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium to persist in carrying out all Party tasks in connection with Kosovo, and to break the resistance which is still being found in some environments.

At the time being it is of utter importance for us to stabilize intranational relations in order to regain intranational confidence and ensure equality and freedom for the members of all nations and nationalities in Kosovo. To achieve this one should work hard on the restoration of a united socialist front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, and members of the other nations and nationalities living in Kosovo.

Commenting on the allegations that all the Albanians in Kosovo are nationalists and unreliable elements, Morina said that it is, in fact, those people who want to sow discord between Albanians and other nations and nationalities. There are certainly individuals who think and speak in this way, but it is the individuals who are burdened by their own nationalism, be it Serbian or any other, but this is not politics, this is not the opinion of the majority, let alone of an entire nation. Consequently, this is a complete lie and manipulation, a dangerous theory aimed at inciting quarrels among nations.

The Kosovo LC, as well as the LCY, will not allow the whole Albanian nation, which has been living for centuries together with Serbs and Montenegrins, and which cares as much as Serbs and Montenegrins about the joint life and friendship, equality and happiness for all people to be accused for all the troubles in Kosovo. No one person can bring about equality and peace. We alone have to do that together. Those who divided and quarreled us will certainly not help us in this. Those who are not prepared to build new relations, who do not implement the LCY policy, who still sow discord and hatred, should leave responsible posts. It is time to tell them openly to go, Morina said. This is not a hunt on people, and no one who works honestly should fear both for himself/herself and for his/her future. Our children should live peacefully and be friends. The people are not against one another. They do not hate each other.

Only nationalists, both Albanian and Serbian, sow hatred against other nations and wish for troubles. For that reason, we do not allow hatred to be inflamed. We should say: The end to nationalism! We shall win this battle too. The Kosovo LC will regain its authority by implementing fairly and consistently its policy, by fighting for consolidation of its ranks and removing those who sow disbelief, fear and hatred, as a result of which many people feel guilty without there being any guilt. We should help those people, Albanians, who feel unjustified guilt. They should be heard more, they should be louder, and they should not fear consequences of their communist attitude toward problems and phenomena in Kosovo. The joint front for a better life is our joint concern and our most important task. Thus, it is time for us to finally turn to work and creation in all areas of life, Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium stressed in his speech to the Pristina political aktiv.

Kosovo Supports Serbian Constitutional Changes

LD1403212789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1909 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—At their joint session today the Presidency of the Social Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium unanimously supported the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia.

Proceeding from the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the Kosovo Presidency and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium fully support the amendments to the consitution of the SR of Serbia which will enable the SR of Serbia to carry out its necessary functions and powers throughout the republic, a statement issued after the session says.

It was stressed that the amendments fully acknowledge the nature of the constitutional status of the autonomous province; that they will enhance the unity and cohesion of the republic; and that they will provide the SAP's with an opportunity to function as both the integral part of the SR of Serbia and the constitutive elements of the Yugoslav Federation.

These changes will not alter the basic principles of the Yugoslav Constitution of 1974 and will be made with full respect for full national equality of all the nations and nationalities in the SR of Serbia and in the SAP of Kosovo. The Kosovo Presidency and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium call on the working people and citizens, members of all nations and nationalities in the organs of sociopolitical organizations and especially on the communists in the bodies and chambers of the Assembly of the SAP of Kosovo to invest maximum efforts in the final stage of the procedure to change the constitution of the SR of Serbia so that this, the most important social task, can be completed successfully, the statement underlines.

DELO Commentary Views Kosovo Situation

AU0903081689 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 4 Mar 89 p 17

[Mile Setinc commentary: "Kosovo, My Fate"]

[Text] The infamous "unforeseeable consequences" that have been repeated as an intimidating refrain in political speeches lately (although usually in the manner of a "call to reason") have arisen. The solution of the Yugoslav national problem, displayed with so much boasting to the entire world, now sounds like a tragic farce; it is not only that this problem has obviously not been solved by far, but it seems—one might sigh resignedly—that it is not resolvable in this region at all. In defense of their rights, the Albanians resort to attempts at collective suicide, unprecedented in modern European history. In defense of their rights (against the Albanians), the Serbs are forcing a militarization of Kosovo (and of other parts), and the worst zealots publicly swear that they will drag the whole world to hell with them if nothing else works. The beginnings of a real trade war are arising between the Serbs and the Slovenes, some national associations are breaking off their "diplomatic relations," and the clashes between the representatives of the two republics in federal bodies recall the mutual accusations by ambassadors of quarreling states in the UN Assembly. The Croats are still "keeping silent," but many are afraid of what will happen when they "start speaking...."

The disputed badge of the Cankar Hall meeting, "Kosovo, my country," which was attacked from all sides, was undisputably wrong from at least one point of view. It should have said, "Kosovo, my fate." There must be something fateful in that land, so that we may comprehend the unique fact that an interethnic conflict in a geographically and economically marginal part of the state has been shaking its entire political edifice for several years; that a country which is irresistibly falling into the abyss of South American inflation and whose development has been stagnating for a whole decade (at a time of world technological revolution) drops everything so that everybody may participate, like in an enormous Roman amphitheater, in the clash about the replacement of a provincial party bureaucrat! Who but nationalist fanatics and obtuse bureaucrats would still believe that what is happening in Kosovo is a clash between Yugoslavia and irredentism, revolution and counterrevolution, integration and separatism, honest and dishonest Albanians? For heaven's sake, let us finally say what foreign observers have been repeating in horror, minus our sentiments: It is a clash between the Serbs (and the Montenegrins) and the Albanians, which is a completely unsolvable problem in terms of the way in which it has been "solved" until now. This admission is being avoided by both approaches that prevail in the country, although the first one is insanely militant and the second rationally cautious; the first considers Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins to be the only authentic representatives of Yugoslavia in Kosovo, and in the handful of "honest Albanians" it sees domestic collaborationists who should keep the "genetically" uncivilized and separatist Albanian herd in the Yugoslav pen; the second believes that behind everything lie merely social and economic problems, and deludes itself into thinking that some sort of Yugoslav economic program will save the country from civil war. It is certainly true—and there is no longer any sense in trying to demonstrate this—that general poverty; the catastrophically undeveloped and inefficient social structure and the state legal system, the traditional nepotism, the implacable fight for every job (although it is paid for "in the African way"), and hunger for the (poorly cultivated) land in that region with a demographic explosion, the semiliterate bureaucracy which is capable of dissipating in unknown ways impressive sums of money presented as a gift, and so forth, in a multinational community logically and legitimately lead to unbearable national tensions, in which every ethnic group tries to grab the largest possible piece of the miserable cake for itself, with the help of political pressure (and by claiming it is nationally underprivileged). However, interethnic clashes in this region have even occurred in economically better (or, to put it better, more tolerable) times, and the worst aggravation since the war erupted at a time when the great economic and political erosion of the state was only beginning. Even if the solution really were to lie in an economic recovery of the province, we could look forward to this happening only some time in the next century!

The hysterical reaction to the meeting in the Cankar Hall could be foreseen before it began. No particular analytical wisdom was needed to see that in a major part of the country, the meeting will appear as Slovene two-facedness without a trace of ethics or honesty, which is to say as a rabid anti-Serbian demonstration, and that the chief reproach will be that while no voice was raised about the suffering of the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, now one is simply drowning in emotions at the hunger strike of the ("manipulated") Albanian miners. The mass movement in Serbia itself should take most of the blame for this "double standard," for it was more or less a response to the imposition of its own standard. The prevailing position in Slovenia to the Kosovo problems has gone through significant transformations in the past decade. During the "counterrevolution" in 1981, one could even notice some anti-Albanian feelings in Slovenia because of the "ingratitude" of the economically "supported" people (among other reasons because one of the prominent slogans of the demonstrators was that "Slovenia exploits Trepca"), and the stereotyped political assessments were diligently repeated by the Slovene politicians at the time. Later, when one began to hear about pressure on the Serbs and Montenegrins and about their emigration, there was considerable confusion in Slovenia, for it was difficult to understand how that was possible, considering that the "infamous" principle held in Kosovo even at that time: one state, two political systems (tremendous "cadre differentiation," unrestrained rule by the political police, the ever present censorship and self-censorship, draconian punishment for "irredentists," political "screening" at Pristina University—which was all directed chiefly against the Albanians). The rare Slovene visitors in Kosovo appeared like "men from Mars" when they wandered around the country and collected completely contradictory assessments and facts about the events (the best example are the simply incredible differences between the Serbian and Albanian sources about the number of rapes, murders, immigrants from Albania, etc.). When the mass movement appeared in Serbia, only one view of Kosovo was still "allowed"—only the view and precisely the view that this movement held; any deviation from this view, as tiny and well-meaning as it might have been, was immediately assessed as high treason, and the person holding it was quickly "strung up" at the people's gatherings in Serbia and Montenegro. This certainly is not the way to gain sympathy and understanding for one's cause!

Speaking about honesty and ethics—the only honest and sensible answer is that both ethnic communities are victims of terror in Kosovo. Both! The difficulties of the Serbian and Montenegrin minorities that are literally pushed out of Kosovo by the Albanian majority cannot be balanced, even less eliminated by depriving the Albanians of the last political rights that they were not deprived of in 1981. While the Serbs and Montenegrins are undoubtedly under the pressure of social (and especially "demographic") inequality, the Albanians—again indisputably—have long been second-class citizens in the political sense of the word, to put it mildly. If the troubles of the former (demonstrated, if nothing else, by the emigration itself, as much as this may be intertwined with "banal" economic and even speculative motives—in the assessment of some Kosovo Serbs themselves, such motives applied to at least one third of those emigrating) have created the mass movement that either directly or indirectly overthrew two republican and one provincial political structure (the Serbian, the Montenegrin, and the Vojvodina), squared accounts with two leading Kosovo teams (the first in the person of Fadil Hodza and the second of Azem Vlasi); coerced the highest state and party officials to conduct talks with them whenever they wanted; and dictated the tone of almost innumerable political sessions, programs, resolutions, and conclusions. Then, the troubles of the latter "forced" only a state of emergency and another round of political police repression of the "organizers" of the protests arising from these troubles. One cannot go on doing this ad infinitum! It is not just a matter of Yugoslavia not being solely a Serbian (or, say, a Slavic) state and of the inability of even the Soviet Union to "solve"—as foreign commentators stress—the national problem with batons and tanks. It is ultimately also a matter of the fact that precisely this policy will most reliably seal the fate of the Serbian and Montenegrin minorities in Kosovo! Can anybody deny the apparent paradox that emigration of members of these minorities is somehow directly proportionate to the pressure to reduce the political and legal autonomy of the province (and thus to reduce the autonomy of those Albanian people who live in Yugoslavia)!? It cannot be otherwise, for the oppression of the political aspect of the Albanians redirects their national energy not only into "excesses," but above all into a comprehensive network of petty, daily pressure on the "hostile" minority, which one cannot defend oneself against, not even with tanks.

The fatefulness of Kosovo does not lie only in the fact that at least half of the country has lately been dealing almost exclusively with the resignations of Albanian "counterrevolutionaries," or that their defense distracts "us" from solving the so-called essential, which is to say economic and developmental, problems (and it is really difficult to imagine how it will be possible to check the lagging behind the developed world which increases every day, if people in their inefficient socialist enterprises do not even work any longer, let alone begin to "restructure" to something more efficient!). It is even more fateful that relations in all of Yugoslavia will "ultimately" depend on the manner in which the Kosovo trauma is solved. It will not be possible to live long in a situation in which people in one part of the country are able to freely establish autonomous political associations, but in another part people are arrested for reading a book by a man who was nominated for president of the republican Presidency in a third part of the country; a situation in which the same republic celebrates the organizers of the protest meetings of one nation as popular heroes and rewards them with the highest offices, but pursues the organizers (or "organizers") [as published] of protests by another nation as enemies of the state; a situation in which one "constituent part of the federation" is (still) admitted to have the right to agree to constitutional changes according to its own will, but another part (in which one of the more numerous peoples of Yugoslavia lives) is forced by decisions of the highest federal authorities and party organs to "agree..."

The political concept of the federation—which imparted state-forming properties to some national communities (and pushed their "dislocated" parts into an "unconscious" status), while a single supranational party then arbitrated among them and translated their conflicts into a weighing of "nonpolitical" material interests—has virtually fallen apart. It was successful only as long as there were a sufficient number of "external enemies" and enough foreign accumulation. Now that both are lacking, or at least insufficient, the Yugoslav people have found themselves in a position to which they are no longer used: They are among themselves. Yugoslavia will be a contractual community on the basis of freely articulated national programs (in which their point in common is their common security and economic interest) or it will not exist, if we are to use this worn rhetorical hyperbole. Well, it will also exist without that, but only as a European atavism, as a crisis item in the "security political assessments" by neighboring states and military blocs.

'Coincidences' of Kosovo Events Examined

AU0803162489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Mar 89 p 2

[Belgrade television commentary by Krste Bijelic: "Tears on Two Faces"]

[Text] The last veil has been removed from our on-going divisions and rifts. Kosovo miners play the role of the stand-in and the sacrificed reconnaissance unit in this anti-historic and anti-civilizational drama. There is not one person in this country who has not sympathized with these people who have been written off and buried alive in order to prevent what must happen: a legal state in Kosovo and an equal and secure life for all people living there, regardless of their national or religious affiliation.

Therefore, we are particularly hurt by the lectures by those who—having divided and alienated this country for years—are now attempting to divide us along the thinnest line of humaneness. It is well-known that these supposed democrats, these supposed humanists do not see other people and other nations which are different to themselves or their own national circle. They only see them if they fit into their vision of the world and life. They have now begun to openly play the evil card. They are now testing how firm and able Yugoslavia is to resist in the future their pretend democratic and essentially destructive scenario.

The news from Ljubljana about a meeting of solidarity whose organizers have not shown the appropriate understanding for the suffering of Serbs and Montenegrins and have now wept over the supposedly threatened Albanians in Kosovo according to the taste of their supposedly democratic public, sounds cynical and sad.

There should be solidarity but there should also be the answer to the question of who forced the Stari Trg miners 900 meters below ground. Who advised them to do this? In our simmering political situation, coincidences are becoming fewer and fewer so it would be good to explain whether it was accidentally or according to some trusted method that Azem Vlasi first of all denied and then admitted that he had visited the imprisoned miners.

It should also be analyzed whether Vlasi's recent stay in Ljubljana only accidentally coincided with the present organized pressure from the capital city of Slovenia.

The spurious question of whether the lives of the Stari Trg miners should be saved, which has been the most frequent subject of political talks in Croatia, has also been fabricated. They should, unhesitatingly. Yugoslavia is responsible for the lives of all of its citizens. Therefore, this same Yugoslavia must finally discover who is blackmailing it in an unprecedented way and attempting to force it to its knees, not shunning the pain and suffering of deluded people.

Serbia's Jovic Speaks on Constitutional Change

LD1403035789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2055 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—The central political task of the Serbian leadership is to now work on the creation of favorable conditions for a positive outcome of the voting on the Serbian constitutional changes in the Kosovo Assembly on 24 March, Borisav Jovic, president of the Serbian Assembly, stated this evenning in talks with the economic and political aktiv of Belgrade's Savski Venac Municipality.

Through intensive political work in Kosovo, the essence of the constitutional changes must be made clear and the separatist and nationalist indoctrination—through which a large part of the Albanian nationality are misinformed as well as frightened by the alleged threat of the restriction of their national rights, especially in education, culture, and language—smashed. However, the constitutional measures do not bring into question either the rights of Albanians or the autonomy of the province, but only make the changes which will strengthen unity in the republic and create the conditions for better and more effective work in all areas, Jovic said. He pointed out that the majority of the Albanian nationality are now prepared to cooperate and are pleased to see the introduction of the special measures in Kosovo, which ensure conditions for normal work.

We have, unfortunately, been witnesses of both misunderstanding and provocation in connection with the constitutional changes in Serbia, the introduction of special measures, and the problems of intranational relations. This, Jovic went on, culminated in the gathering in Cankar Hall in Ljubljana. We do not want this to be repeated and, as far as possible, we want it forgotten and overcome. Obviously, this was a matter of there having been a great deal of misunderstanding of the national and political problems in Serbia and Kosovo, as well as of the unnecessary fear that extraordinary measures were being implemented when there was no need for them. [passage omitted]

Borisav Jovic was also asked whether anything will be done in connection with the biased articles in some papers on Serbia and its leadership. The president of the Serbian Assembly replied that the Serbian leadership has neither the energy nor the time to deal with these insults and this slander. We have much more important things to do than deal with articles which are best refuted by practice, Jovic said, stressing that things are gradually settling down. He added that such articles undermine intranational relations, and it would be a good thing if they were to stop. If, however, these people have nothing more important to do, then let them carry on writing like this. The main thing guiding the Serbian leadership to this point and in the future has been and will be the demands of citizens, Borisav Jovic stressed.

Serbian Presidency Assesses Measures on Kosovo

LD1303161489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1240 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—At its session today, presided over by Petar Gracanin, the Presidency of the SR of Serbia considered a report on the implementation of the special measures of the SFRY Presidency in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. The Presidency has assessed, the report says, that the special measures of the SFRY Presidency as well as the political and other measures carried out in Kosovo are gaining positive results. Social and economic life in the province is gradually returning to normal. The functioning of some of the state organs and social services is improving. The security of working people and citizens has increased. There are neither serious excesses nor a public defiance of the imposed measures. The units of the Yugoslav People's Army, which undertake their duties in the framework of the imposed measures, receive full support. All this confirms that the imposed measures are justified. The Presidency of the SR of Serbia therefore underlines the need for further consistent implementation of these measures in order to normalize the situation in all walks of social life in Kosovo and to suppress resistance as soon as possible.

Wide-ranging activity of all social factors in Kosovo, dedicated to removing the causes and consequences of the counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian separatists and nationalists—markedly epitomized by the November and February demonstrations and similar kinds of protests—should be developed on social, political, and security foundations. The initiated process of normalization and transformation in Kosovo can and must be carried out by the progressive social forces of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and others encompassed by a front of common struggle. In doing this, the decisive role is to be played by those leaderships in the province which have already demonstrated in practice their determination to fight counterrevolution and affirm Yugoslav values.

The Presidency stresses that the economic consequences of the February events in Kosovo are cause for serious concern. The facts show that the damage already done is enormous. The damage will strike everyone, particularly the people living in Kosovo. This is an economic subversion against the interests of the Kosovo workers and is aimed at undermining the country's economic system.

The Kosovo people should be made aware through political activity that the vast damage caused will not be compensated for by someone from the outside. Therefore, the responsibility of those who organized and led the whole thing cannot and must not be avoided. Particularly difficult consequences for the Kosovo economy and for its development prospects might follow an emerging lack of will in the country to invest and pool funds in Kosovo. This unease is spreading, so everything should be done to cut its roots. The Presidency assesses that the adoption of the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia will have a direct influence on the consolidation of the political and security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, in the SR of Serbia, and in the country as a whole. The Presidency is convinced that out of an awareness of its responsibility, the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo will assent to the constitutional changes and thus contribute to the creation of the prerequisites for resolving a set of issues which have been burdening relations in the republic and in the country. The situation in Kosovo should constantly be monitored, as the enemies will keep on acting while changing their tactics and the forms of their activity. This can certainly be expected in the forthcoming period ,when the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia are to be debated in the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The Presidency concludes that the mistake of 1983, when a state of emergency was lifted in Kosovo without the support of enough arguments for such a decision, should not be repeated. The special measures in Kosovo should ensure full normalization, the restoration of political and security conditions, the normalization of the life and work of working people and citizens, a halt to the emigration under pressure of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, and the final elimination of counterrevolution in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. All efforts should be invested to have these tasks executed as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

Slovene Alliance's Tomsic on Pluralism, Kosovo

AU1403103389 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German
14 Mar 89 p 3

[Melita Sunjic report on "exclusive" interview with France Tomsic, chairman of the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance: "Yugoslavia Needs Pluralism"; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] "At the end of 1987 the idea was born to found a Slovene social democracy; 1988 was a year of fermenting. For 2 weeks now we have been officially established; 1989 will be the year in which we have to establish organizational structures in the districts and towns of Slovenia. As of 1990, social democratic organizations are to follow in the other republics." This is the picture of his party drawn by France Tomsic, chairman of the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance, in an exclusive interview with WIENER ZEITUNG. [passage omitted]

Tomsic stresses that many registered communists participated in the preparations for the founding of the party. At its founding the alliance had 1,000 members. Today, only 14 days later, there are already 1,500, mostly young people under the age of 40. The movement still leans to the intellectual side, Tomsic deplores. But gradually workers are also joining it: "In the Presidium we have a university professor but also a lathe operator. This is good. We want to be a modern people's party."

The Social Democratic Alliance does not consider itself a purely Slovene movement. There are also Serbs and Croats as members. "There are even more members from Serbia than from Croatia," Tomsic stresses, referring to the fact that the official Serbian policy strictly rejects political pluralism, while Croatia is considered the most liberal republic after Slovenia.

However, a few days ago, in the Croatian capital of Zagreb, the Croatian Democratic Community was founded. Tomsic held the welcoming address in the overcrowded hall. He hopes that this association will develop into a Croatian sister organization of his Social Democratic Alliance.

Two days before its founding the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance was practically forced to establish itself within the Socialist Alliance of the Working People, the umbrella organization of all social organizations in Yugoslavia. This decision was forced. At that time Tomsic accepted it "for tactical considerations" so as to be able to carry through the founding at all.

Do you intend to get out of the Socialist Alliance again? Tomsic: "No. After the event we realized that this decision was correct. Because of it we are represented both in the committee for the preparation of a new Slovene constitution and in the committee for changing the statutes. This is exactly what we wanted—to constructively participate in working."

Equal Arms

What is the organization's most important task at the moment? "To establish party structures in towns and districts. We have to establish equality of arms with the Communists on the political field. Our television appearances alone are not enough. We have to be able to present our own candidates at every political level."

The first "real party congress" is scheduled to take place in a year.

Disappointing SPD

Tomsic is disappointed about the Socialist International and the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD]. They had been sent letters and been invited to the founding congress. There was no official reaction. Only some SPD basic organizations issued solidarity statements. However, there is still time to establish international contacts. "At the moment we do not have the apparatus necessary for this, anyway. We have had a secretary only for a short time," Tomsic says.

The Kosovo Conflict

Our talk turns toward the domestic policy turbulences in Yugoslavia. Tomsic discusses them prudently and without emotions.

"The conflicts in Kosovo cannot be settled with tanks and bayonets; they can only be dammed up so that afterwards they erupt again all the more strongly. We are against special laws in Kosovo, which are illegal. Our Constitution does not provide for a state of emergency at all."

The Slovene Social Democrats believe that "the same law must be applicable to Serbs and Albanians. One cannot call some meetings an expression of solidarity (of the Serbian people—the author) and the others counter-revolution (of the Albanians—the author)."

Concerning Serbia's policy, Tomsic says tersely: "The fact that perestroyka is everywhere has not reached Serbia yet. The time of the great leaders is over. The Serbs will have to accept that the Slovenes no longer want to live in a one-party system. If anyone wanted to take pluralism away from us, he would bring about the end of Yugoslavia."

What happens if agreement between the two political concepts in Yugoslavia is absolutely impossible? Tomsic: "No part can force the other to do something; in this case there would have to be a confederation that would be looser than the current federation." However, Tomsic admits that this is not the model he desires. He would prefer an all-Yugoslav pluralism.

Army: No Chance

In Yugoslavia there have been repeated rumors that the military would interfere if the northern, liberal republics of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot come to an agreement with the strictly communist Serbs, Macedonians, and Montenegrinians. Tomsic sees little danger in this respect: "It is true that 70 percent of the General Staff consists of Serbs and Montenegrins, while we Slovenes and Croats pay half of the military budget. However, every individual army unit is ethnically mixed. There is no real chance to act against Slovenia and Croatia." Furthermore, there are the regional defense groups (some sort of militia of the local population). They would inevitably take action in such a case, Tomsic points out.

Would this be the "Lebanonization" of Yugoslavia? Tomsic: "Yes, no one can want this."

Optimistic

What will happen in the future? Tomsic is optimistic, as he says. He puts "great trust" in the designated head of government Ante Markovic, a Croat. For the first time in Yugoslavia's history, Markovic will compose his cabinet not according to ethnic proportional representation but according to the qualification of the ministers in order to forge ahead with the economic reform. Tomsic sees this as a new quality: "We will fully support him in his efforts for a new enterprise law. Our social democratic program also envisages pluralism in the forms of ownership in the economy."

Thus, a mixed economy as the West European social democrats propagated in the 1970's? Tomsic: "Yes. But the SPD or the Socialist Party of Austria can learn quite a lot from our party program. They have already lost their elan. We are the fresh power," he said and self-confidently presented a copy of the party program.

Slovenes Polled on Attitude to Meetings

AU0703151089 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 4 Mar 89 p 1

["DELO Telephone Poll: A Majority Against a Meeting"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 3 Mar—The Contacts Working Community of the DELO Newspaper and Printing Enterprise conducted a telephone poll of 354 people from Slovenia on behalf of our editorial office today, asking them about their attitude toward meetings.

People were polled in all Slovene regions, but the majority (47.46 percent of the respondents) were from Ljubljana. Of those polled, 96.05 percent were Slovene and 3.95 percent were members of other peoples and nationalities.

The first question was: Are you in favor of organizing a meeting in Ljubljana? The answers were as follows:

Yes	8.19 percent
No	77.40 percent
Do not know	14.41 percent

The second question was: Do you think that meetings are useful to interethnic relations? The answers were:

Yes	5.08 percent
No	79.94 percent
Do not know	14.97 percent

The third question was: Do you think that meetings contribute to solving the Kosovo problems? The answers were:

Yes	5.08 percent
No	81.64 percent
Do not know	12.99 percent

One respondent did not answer this question.

Vojvodina Agrees to Constitutional Amendments

LD1003205389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1815 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Novi Sad, March 10 (TANJUG)—Vojvodina's provincial assembly gave its agreement on amendments to Serbia's republican constitution today.

The decision was unanimous, a great step towards the final adopting of the amendments.

The changes in its constitution will secure Serbia's state jurisdiction on its entire territory.

Serbia is the largest Yugoslav republic and the only one with provinces—Kosovo and Vojvodina.

Kosovo's assembly is scheduled to vote on the amendments on March 24. If it gives its agreement Serbia's assembly will proclaim the amendments on March 28.

Vojvodina's assembly said the amendments were the most essential needs for establishing unity in Serbia as a republic in the most important state functions which mean guarantees of equality for all nations and nationalities as well as constitutionality and legality.

The Vojvodina Assembly called Kosovo's assembly to give support to the amendments and contribute to creating necessary preconditions for implementing economic reform in the country.

The Assembly also said the amendments do not change the position or rights that the provinces enjoy as integral parts of Serbia under the Yugoslav Constitution.

The proposed changes in Serbia's Constitution caused mass strikes by ethnic Albanians in Kosovo last month, over unfounded fears that the changes would relieve them of the rights they enjoyed under the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution and decrease their autonomy.

Skopje TV Attacks Serbian Church Leader

LD0603212789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1349 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Skopje, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—Following a statement by Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, that the dispute between the Macedonian Orthodox Church and the Serbian Orthodox Church about autocephality is yet another manifestation of Serbian nationalism of a classic kind, the Holy Standing Synod of the Serbian Othodox Church voiced a direct response. Now, the Metropolitan of Zagreb and Ljubljana, Jovan Pavlovic, is doing the same in his interview for OKO [biweekly ZAGREB magazine on social and cultural issues], where he states that "it was a great mistake to deliberately declare autocephality, since it had probably been suggested by the state leadership".

Commenting on parts of this interview, Skopje television stressed that "Dismissing the fact that the declaring of autocephality is an historical and constitutional right can have only one kind of background". Which means that a part of the structure in the top hierarchy of the Serbian Orthodox Church does not give up the position of prewar Yugoslavia,—the dream about a "great Serbia". The commentary goes on to quote the part of the interview where it is said that the Serbian Orthodox Church has transcended certain problems and made compromises by recognizing Macedonians as a people and nation. This national identity, Metropolitan Pavlovic said, is not acknowledged by our neighbor, and this is the problem which the state feels. "Having said this, the television commentary stresses, the attitude of the Serbian Orthodox Church toward the Macedonian people finds an analogy in the negative attitude of some neighboring countries toward the Macedonian minority and the Macedonian people in general. Otherwise, why all those nervous reactions following the well-known statement that the Macedonian people are threatened by nationalism from four sides?"

The hypocrisy of this dignitary of the Serbian Orthodox Chruch, the commentary adds, was further confirmed when he spoke about the World Council of Churches. He said that he had advocated the resolving of problems of national minorities in Romania, mentioning the Serbian and Croatian ones among all of them. As one might have expected, not a word was uttered about the Macedonian minority in the neighboring countries," the commentary emphasizes.

"The hard-line attitudes by reactionary and nationalist circles in the top hierarchy of the Serbian Orthodox church remain. No doubt, they burden the already complex relations in the country and represent an uneasy legacy for the future," concludes the Skopje televison commentary, which was broadcast during the main television news yesterday.

Croatian Trade Unions on SFRY 'Synthesis'

LD0903202889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1453 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Zagreb, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—Class principle should prevail over national principle and reason over euphoria, in bringing together the working class of Yugoslavia, united as it is in its interests to the program of Yugoslav synthesis. This is the principal message from a session today of the trade union council of Croatia where political, security and socioeconomic trends in the country, as well as the reaction toward the stands of 26 February by this council's presidium—which dealt with the Kosovo events—were discussed.

After several hours of discussion the members of the council unanimously adopted a stand that the presidium's statement was led solely by the principle of humanity and saving lives. At the same time, it was said, one should accept well-intentioned criticism about the fact that setting up a current account in support of the miners and their families was an ill-founded decision.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Denounces Realignment Attempts

LD1403211789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1631 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Bosnia and Hercegovina LC Central Committee denounces all absurd allusions to, the ideas of, and calls for, reshaping Yugoslavia, and attempts to realign Bosnia and Hercegovina. This republic will not and cannot accept being drawn into pacts, realigned, or claimed, or anything contrary to the interests of the working class, to the AVNOJ character of Yugoslavia, and to the policy of the LCY. It will not accept divisions on a national basis. This was said at a session today of the Bosnia and Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium.

The Bosnia and Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium has, therefore, decided to join in numerous protest and to sharply condemn attempts to divide and manipulate the SR of Bosnia and Hercegovina by either sections of the media, such as MLADINA, with the publication of a map of divided Yugoslavia, or by numerous emissaries who are trying to win over people in Bosnia and Hercegovina and use them for their sinister goals by spreading false information and defeatism.

The Presidium also rejects crude insinuations and lies put out by some newspapers, in particular POLITIKA EKSPRES, that the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidium allegedly gave orders to arrest, maltreat, and torture the people of Mosevac.

The Bosnia and Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium warns that various, mostly overt, pressures are being used to suppress the processes of transformation and democratization in social relations in Bosnia and Hercegovina. This will not be allowed. Further development of democratic practice in Bosnia and Hercegovina and the capacity by all the institutions of the system to carry out their tasks independently and responsibly are an imperative for fulfilling the antibureaucratic strategy of the struggle for the development of socialist self-management as clearly defined by the first conference of the Bosnia and Hercegovina LC, a statement issued after today's session says.

It was said at the session that the stands of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and of the Bosnia and Hercegovina LC Central Committee were met with support and strong demands for their consistent and efficient implementation. At their recent numerous meetings and gatherings, the working people, citizens, and communists in Bosnia and Hercegovina call for a common front among all the nations and nationalities in both Kosovo and the country, in implementing the stands of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the SFRY Presidency's measures to overcome the difficult situation in Kosovo and suppress counterrevolutionary activity. They also call for complete ideological and political unity in specific activities. Present concern among all citizens caused by the difficult political and security situation in the country must, therefore be translated intoresolute activity in countering national divisions and conflicts, and also into their specific contribution to to ensure understanding and peaceful coexistence.